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THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN MOORE, M.D.

VOL. III.

THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN MOORE, M.D.

WITH

MEMOIRS

OF

HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

BY

ROBERT ANDERSON, M.D.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOLUME III.

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1820.

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A

JOURNAL

DURING A RESIDENCE IN FRANCE,

FROM THE

BEGINNING OF AUGUST

TO THE

MIDDLE OF DECEMBER 1792.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED AT PARIS FROM THAT TIME TO THE DEATH OF THE LATE KING OF FRANCE.

Opus opimum casibus, atrox prœliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum. TACIT.

A

JOURNAL, &c.

Before I was twenty-one years of age, I resided for two years at Paris. I afterwards made a tour into Flanders, and returned through France, sometime previous to my accompanying the duke of Hamilton to that and other countries of Europe.

On all those occasions, the affability, the ease, and peculiar gaiety of the French nation left a very pleasing impression on my mind; and I often regretted that a people so formed for enjoying and communicating happiness, should labour under the oppression of an arbitrary government, and unequal laws.

I often said, how supremely happy would a people of such a disposition be, were they to obtain a system of government as free and impartial as that which Great Britain has enjoyed since the revolution!

From the moment, indeed, that I had any opportunity of observing how much human nature is exposed to be insulted and degraded, from the want of this blessing, I had most earnestly wished it to every country of the globe; and when the revolution took place in France, in the year 1789, I rejoiced in the hopes that so extensive and populous a portion of Europe would acquire

With such sentiments, it was natural for me to have a desire of visiting the same people in a state of freedom,

whose complicated oppressions I had so often lamented under their former government.

A very agreeable opportunity of accomplishing this desire was proposed to me last summer by the earl of Lauderdale, with whom I had the happiness of being acquainted from his early youth, and whose father had long honoured me with his friendship.

His lordship's ill state of health rendered a few months residence in a mild climate highly expedient. His plan was, after a short stay at Paris, to proceed farther south; and, to make it still more acceptable to me, he was so obliging as to invite the only one of my sons who had not been in France, to be of the party.

We embarked at Dover on the morning of the 4th of August, and in a few hours arrived at Calais, where I began the following Journal.—

August 4, 1792.

On our arrival at Calais, we were conducted to the town-house, where a circumstantial description of our features and persons was inserted in our passports for Paris.

August 5.

Lord Lauderdale's delicate state of health did not permit us to go farther than Abbeville this day.

The inhabitants of this country appear as gay as ever, notwithstanding the formidable armies now prepared to attack them.—At one village, near which we changed horses, about fifty or sixty peasants were dancing cotillons on a green plain under the shade of trees: they discovered no fear of Austrians or Prussians, nor did *care* of any kind seem to disturb their minds: I thought them equally cheerful, and rather better dressed than I ever observed the peasants of this part of France before: it is Sunday, and of course they are all in their best clothes. In the higher ranks, in every country, it is not uncommon to see people richly dressed with very sorrowful countenances. I do not recollect to have ever met with any

French people of the lower order, male or female, in town or country, with a sorrowful face when they imagined themselves well dressed.

The last time I was at Abbeville, I read an inscription on a column in one of the churches, respecting the chevalier La Bar, who was executed in this town on account of some indignity he was accused of having shewn to an old wooden image of the Virgin, which stood on the bridge. He was said to have wounded it in the shoulder with his couteau de chasse, as he staggered from a tavern, in company with a set of young men as thoughtless and intoxicated as himself. This piece of étourderie, which might with propriety have been punished by some weeks imprisonment, occasioned a greater alarm, about thirty years ago, in this town and its neighbourhood, than the march of the German armies at present. Although the wound in the image was but slight, the Virgin was supposed to be mortally offended; many prayers and processions were made to expiate the offence. After all, some, who judged of her disposition by their own, took pains to persuade the people that nothing would satisfy her, or avert the vengeance of heaven, but the life of the chevalier La Bar —A criminal process was carred on with the hottest zeal, and a sentence obtained against him.

The unhappy youth was beheaded accordingly, and an account of the whole transaction was inscribed in letters of gold in the principal church, for the instruction of posterity. Of late, however, this inscription has been removed, which has given offence, I understand, to the zealous people of this place.

While we were at supper, the landlord of the inn read us part of a letter which he had just received from Paris, giving an account of petitions that had been read in the national assembly, requiring a declaration of the dechéance, that is, of the king's having forfeited the crown. We expressed surprise at this, and I asked the landlord what he thought of it? 'Mais ma foi, monsieur,'* said he,

* 'Faith, sir.

with emphasis and gesticulation—and then pausing, he turned the answer into a question, saying, 'Que voulez-vous qu'on pense, monsieur?'* This was the amount of the landlord's opinion, which he never varied, though he spoke several times afterwards on the same subject.

Clermont, August 6.

We met many carriages with people flying from Paris: wherever we stopped, or had any opportunity of conversing with them, they gave an alarming account of the state of that city, and were surprised at our thinking of going there at this time. They all seemed to be impressed with the notion that an important event is about to happen.

One man said, that certain people had been of late engaged in a conspiracy which would break out *on the ninth of this month*. We could not help smiling at the notion of a conspiracy which was so well known beforehand, and considered his apprehensions as groundless.

I asked, however, a genteel looking man who had just arrived at this place in the diligence, whether he thought there was any danger in being at Paris? 'Pas le moindre,'† answered he. They talk, said I, of dethroning the king. 'Tant pis pour lui,' said the man; 'mais cela ne vous regarde pas.'‡ To hear a Frenchman talk with so much indifference of dethroning a king, however petty the monarch might be, was what I did not expect; but to hear him speak with the same indifference of dethroning his own king, that, I confess, astonished me. I remember the time when the most dreadful convulsion of nature would have been considered in France as of less importance, and would have occasioned less alarm.

Paris, Aug. 7.

We left Clermont early this morning, and were too impatient to get to Paris to stop long at Chantilly, which,

* What would you have me to think?

† Not the least.

‡ So much the worse for him, but that is nothing to you.

besides, wears at present a less inviting aspect than it used to do. While the horses were changing, I asked a poor fellow in rags, who assisted the postillion, if the people wished for the return of the prince?

All the poor do, said the man.

He was very charitable then? said I.

'Charitable comme un autre,' replied the man, 'mais il étoit riche comme mille.' *

It would be unfortunate for the country, then, said I, if his vast estate should ever be divided among a thousand proprietors?

'Ouida pour les pauvres assurément,' replied he, 'parceque c'est des bontés des princes et des grands que les pauvres vivent.' †

Finding the reasoning of this philosopher unanswerable, I took my leave of him, and proceeded to Paris, where we arrived about two o'clock, at the Hotel de Moscovie in the fauxbourg St. Germain. After dinner we drove to the gardens of the Palais Royal, which swarmed with people of all sorts, who had as little the air of apprehension of an approaching enemy, and less the air of anxiety of any kind than those we left on crossing the Channel.—The piazzas resounded with various kinds of musical instruments, and the voices of those who sung as they walked or danced along. I asked a shopkeeper if they had received any *very good* news from the frontiers. 'Rien, monsieur,' answered he, 'depuis le manifesto de Brunswick.' ‡

From the Palais Royal we went to the national assembly. Here the scene was not so gay: the debate was carried on with a degree of violence which I have hardly ever seen equalled; yet the subject, while I staid, was not of a nature which one could have expected would much inflame the passions—it regarded certain bells which they proposed to coin into money.

* Charitable like another man—but as rich as a thousand.

† Yes assuredly, for the poor, because it is through the bounty of princes and lords that the poor live.

‡ Nothing, answered he, since Brunswick's manifesto.

After being informed of what had passed at Paris a few days before our arrival, we had more reason to be surprised at the easy air and gaiety of the inhabitants, than at the alarm of those we met on the road hurrying from this city.

On the 3d of this month, M. Dejoly, the minister of justice, delivered a message to the national assembly from the king, respecting the manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, although his majesty declares at the same time, that in his opinion the manifesto does not bear sufficient marks of authenticity.—He asserts that he had been averse to the war, and had adopted that measure only in compliance with the unanimous opinion of his council; but that since the declaration of war he had neglected no measure to insure its success; that his efforts would augment in proportion to the urgency of events; and that he would act in concert with the assembly, to render the evils inseparable from war, profitable for the liberty and honour of the nation—with many other patriotic expressions.

On its being moved, that this message from the king should be ordered to be printed, which is the usual mark of respect shewn by the assembly to the addresses or petitions it approves, the motion was opposed. One of the members observed, that it was not by *words*, but by *actions*, that the king should prove his love of liberty and the constitution.

M. Isnard went farther; he offered 'to prove that what the king asserted was not true.' He was interrupted, not so much on account of the indecency of this expression, as because he wandered from the question in debate, which was, whether the king's letter ought to be printed or not.—It was observed that what he had said was precisely in point, because, if he proved that the contents of the letter were not true, it followed that it ought not to be printed.

Isnard then said, 'That when fanatical priests had attempted to kindle a civil war, the assembly had proposed repressive decrees, which the king had refused to sanction.

'That he had dismissed the patriotic ministers who possessed the confidence of the nation; that he must have been acquainted for more than a year with the treaty of Pilnitz, yet he had taken no measure to defeat it, or to procure allies for France; that the ministers had promised to have 150,000 men ready to act; and yet, although war was declared, nothing near the number was levied, and those who were, had not been properly armed; and finally, that every measure had been taken to render the enemy's attack on France successful.'

Another member said, 'That the only thing which had determined the king to send the message was, that he knew that the majority of the sections were about to address the assembly to divest him of the crown.'

After a warm debate, the letter from his majesty was not ordered to be printed.

On the same day Petion, the mayor of Paris, at the head of a deputation of the common council, and attended by a great number of citizens from the different sections, came to the bar of the assembly, and presented an address of a very extraordinary nature.

It began by expressions of sorrow for the necessity of accusing the chief of the executive power, and proceeded to declare, 'that although the people have great reason to be enraged against Lewis XVI, yet as the appearance of anger does not become power, they will use the language of moderation.' In this language of *moderation*, therefore, all that his enemies ever accused the king of previous to his accepting of the constitution, was minutely enumerated, accompanied by a declaration that all those crimes were obliterated, and covered by the pardon granted by the people. But the addressers declare, that they cannot help mentioning the king's ingratitude to a people who have behaved so generously to him. 'What right had he (say they) to expect they would replace him on the throne, after he had attempted to fly from France that he might reign at Coblentz? Could he found his expectation on his descent from a race of kings, among twenty of which

there was hardly one tolerable? Yet the nation had forgiven all, and restored the crown to him, since which moment he had never ceased to conspire against the freedom of his country; that an army of traitors, led by his brothers, invaded France; that to avenge the cause of Lewis XVI, the execrable house of Austria desires to add a new page to the history of its crimes, and, adopting the horrid idea of Caligula, wishes at one blow to strike off the heads of all the good citizens of France.'

After more in the same strain, the address concludes with requesting, 'that the king be decreed to have forfeited the crown; that the government be put into the hands of patriotic ministers named by the people, till a national convention be assembled.'

These being the terms in which those citizens mention their king when they are calm, I should like to know what language they make use of when they are in a rage.

The address however, such as it was, gained the loudest applause of the people in the galleries.

The following day an address from the section of Mauconseil was read in the assembly.—In this, six hundred persons of that section declare, that they have conceived the noble design of assuming their rights, of restoring liberty, and destroying despotism. 'Too long (they say) has a despicable tyrant ruled over us: without troubling ourselves with enumerating his crimes, let us break this Colossus of despotism to pieces, and may the noise of his fall reach to the uttermost parts of the earth, and make every tyrant turn pale!'

It must be acknowledged that this noble design of six hundred persons of the section of Mauconseil is a pretty bold one, and as boldly expressed. It would seem that some members of a more tender conscience than the rest, had scruples about the oath of fidelity they had sworn to the king: those are removed by the penner of this curious address, with wonderful facility; to break an oath, or to break the Colossus of despotism, seems equally easy to him.

'Let us break,' cried he, 'the oath we have taken.'

'Le perjure est vertu, quand on a juré un crime.'

The applause which this address received, was intermixed with a good deal of laughter. That some mad enthusiast should write a foolish paper, and get six hundred idle people to sign it, is no sure indication of the public mind. Yet such a paper being allowed to be read in the national assembly, is a proof that the disposition of a considerable number, at least, of this body is not friendly to the king.

Which appeared more evidently on the 6th, when a tumultuous crowd came from the Champ de Mars, with a roll of parchment signed by a great number of people of all the sections. This parchment had lain for eight days on the altar which was built for the ceremony of the federation, and was then brought to the door of the assembly, as a petition, by a mob of both sexes. After some opposition, it was ordered that twenty of them should be admitted to the bar. While this petition was read, one carried a pole crowned with a red cap, inscribed with these words, *Destruction du pouvoir persécutif.* *

And the following words beneath, *Appel au peuple.*†

These inscriptions excited the indignation of the assembly; and they were ordered to be torn off before the petition was read. The petition was of a most incendiary nature, and the reading took near an hour.

These violent scenes sufficiently prove the heats and animosities which exist, and account for a number of people retiring from Paris, from the dread of some still greater disorder.

August 8.

A debate of great expectation took place this day in the national assembly.—A committee of twelve members were sometime since appointed to deliberate on the conduct of M. de la Fayette.—Jean de Brie made the report, in

* Destruction to the persecuting power.

† Appeal to the people.

which he greatly blamed the conduct of the general, in having calumniated and menaced the national assembly; in having had the design to march his army against Paris; and in having assumed unconstitutional power: and the reporter concluded by proposing a decree of accusation.

The discourse of Jean de Brie was greatly applauded by the audience in the tribunes. M. Vaublanc made an able and eloquent defence of the general's conduct; but when he proposed the previous question on Jean de Brie's motion, the people in the galleries raised the most violent exclamations and murmurs, which were, however, balanced by the applause of the majority of the assembly.

Brissot spoke next, and added new force to the reasoning of Jean de Brie. When the decree of accusation was put to the vote, it was rejected by a majority of near 200.

This occasioned fresh murmurs in the galleries, and violent agitation in the assembly.

As this was considered as a trial of strength between the parties, it is to be presumed that the majority of the assembly is with the court; and that in future debates it will rather augment than diminish, as is usually the case in the British houses of parliament after a very great majority in favour of either party. The minority, however, seem to have the people with them. I am told indeed that those noisy people in the galleries are hired; but this does not account to me for the cry being all on one side. The partisans of the court, one would imagine, might hire applaudders as well as others.

August 9.

I was informed late last night, that the great majority which voted in favour of La Fayette had excited rage and indignation among the partisans of opposition, which they manifested in the most open and alarming manner; that this victory, so far from discouraging them from new attempts against the court, seemed to prompt them to greater excesses than ever; and that several members who had

opposed his being accused, had been grossly insulted as they went from the assembly; and some of them, particularly M. Vaublanc, had narrowly escaped assassination. I was informed at the same time, that new addresses were to be presented this day, requiring the *dechéance*, or at least the suspension of the king's power during the war, and that this extraordinary question would be debated in the assembly to-day.

I went to the national assembly this morning about nine. The tribunes, and all the places allotted for strangers, were full. I understood that an address had been read, as I was entering, from some town, the name of which I forget, demanding the dechéance.

A very noisy discussion occupied the assembly, arising from that and other proposals, which I could not hear distinctly for a considerable time: but I understood that it was proposed to suspend the king's authority during the whole time that the debate on the subject of the dechéance continued; for it is allowed that the question requires some days deliberation, and a decree was proposed, consisting of several articles, for that purpose. But before these could be taken into consideration, M. Merlet, the president, informed the assembly, that he had received a number of letters from members, which he desired might be read.

In one, the writer complains 'of having been attacked in the street the preceding night by a number of men in the dress of the national guards, and grossly insulted; that he had informed them of his being a member of the assembly, and had shewn them the ribbon which the deputies wear: on which one of them answered, that it was precisely for that reason, and his having spoken and voted in favour of the traitor La Fayette, that they would put him to death; which when they were preparing to do, he had been saved by a grenadier and some citizens.'

Another member wrote, 'that he had been attacked in the same manner; that one man had actually seized and

lifted him from the ground, while those around called out, *A la lanterne.*'

At this the people in the galleries applauded, evidently signifying that they should have rejoiced if the threat had been completely executed.

This indecent behaviour in the audience threw the court party into such a paroxysm of rage, that they started from the benches, rushed in a body towards the seat occupied by the president, extending their arms, and requiring that the insolence of the people in the galleries should be checked and prevented.

I expected of course that the galleries would be cleared, and was more provoked than before at the intolerable impertinence of the people.

I expressed my fears to the person next me. 'Soyez tranquille, monsieur,' said he, 'et ne bougez pas.' *

Indeed I was soon convinced that it was more likely that the people in the galleries should thrust out the members, than that the members would expel them. For although some of the deputies shook their hands in a threatening manner at the people in the tribunes, those threats and gestures only provoked laughter.

A third letter gave an account 'that several deputies had been obliged to take refuge in a corps de garde, from the fury of certain persons who had followed and abused them as they went home from the assembly; that these persons were not citizens of Paris, but strangers, *fédérés*, as was supposed, hired for the purpose of insulting particular members pointed out to them; that the corps de garde was on the point of being forced by these persons, when the members made their escape by a back window.'

Another letter informed the assembly, 'that a deputy having gone for refuge into a shop in the Rue St. Honoré, one of the *fédérés* had followed him, and declared, that if he ever saw him attempt to return to the assembly, he would strike off his head with a stroke of his sabre, which he drew half out of the scabbard as he spoke.'

* Be you at your ease, sir, and do not move.

When mention was made in the former letter of the deputies escaping by the window of the corps de garde, it excited some mirth in the galleries; but at the idea of one of their heads being cut off, I thought there would have been no end of exultation; there was a loud and universal peal of laughter from all the galleries.

And the members on one side of the hall were as violent in expressing their indignation. Some called out to the president to put an end to the meeting: others proposed that it should be immediately decreed, that the national assembly should withdraw from Paris to some other town in France, where they could deliberate in safety, and free from insult.

The noise and disorder were excessive; fifty members were vociferating at once: I never was witness to a scene so tumultuous; the bell, as well as the voice of the president, was drowned in a storm, compared to which, the most boisterous night I ever was witness to in the House of Commons, was calm.

When with much difficulty, and a great deal of ringing and gesticulation, the president could be heard, he announced to the assembly, that he was just informed by two members, that a number of armed men surrounded the hall. On which a member proposed, that proper measures should be immediately taken for the security of the legislative body.

But two members having stepped out to ascertain the fact, returned, and declared, that, although there were a number of citizens at the doors, none were armed except the guard of the assembly.

On which a tumult of another kind arose; the president was loudly, and not in a very respectful manner, required to name those who had given this false information, and calumniated the worthy and peaceable citizens of Paris.

The president, who seemed to me not to be all at his ease, answered with a little hesitation, that he did not know the members who gave him the information.

One of those who had given the information then stood up and said, that he had seen men armed with sabres in the corridors; that some also had pistols, of which he thought it his duty to acquaint the president.

There was a cry against those who had calumniated the people. Some called out to send the member prisoner to the Abbaye; and one part of the assembly seemed infinitely more inclined to punish those who had given this information, than those who had insulted, abused, and threatened their colleagues.

La Croix exclaimed, 'that they wished to have a pretext for transferring the assembly to Rouen, and for that purpose asserted that the hall was surrounded with armed men, that the public might believe that the deputies had not full liberty of deliberating and voting.'

But how can men be thought to deliberate or vote with freedom, who are pursued, insulted, and menaced by a mob for the opinions and votes they give?

After it had been insisted on for some time with violence, that the two members who had given the erroneous information should be sent for three days to the Abbaye, that measure was dropped, and a letter was read from Dejoly, the minister of justice, informing the assembly, that the people were continually instigated to violence and to murder, by agitators hired for the purpose, and by placards on the walls: he then enumerated the insults the deputies had suffered the foregoing evening, and that he had preferred an accusation against some persons suspected of these excesses to the criminal tribunal, by orders from the king.

The moment the king was mentioned, the tribunes resounded with laughter and hooting in the most indecent manner.

After these had in some measure ceased, the conclusion of the minister's letter was read, declaring, 'that unless some effectual means of repressing those disorders were adopted, it would be impossible for the government to be

answerable for the safety of either the lives or property of the citizens.'

A member ascended the tribune and declared, 'that as he was going out of the hall last night, but being still within the walls, and walking through the passage, he was violently struck by a person unknown.' A voice was heard demanding, on what part?

This interruption raised great indignation on one side of the hall. 'I am asked,' resumed the member, 'on what part I was struck. I answer, behind: it is only from behind that assassins strike; and I now declare, in the name of the nation, whose deputy I am, that I will no longer vote in this assembly unless the legislative body can insure me liberty and safety.'

M. Vaublanc then gave an account, 'that he had been sought after and pursued by assassins, who had even abused his servant for declaring he did not know where his master was; that having been informed of this, he had not ventured to sleep at his own house, but had passed the night at the house of a friend.'

He proceeded in a very eloquent and perspicuous style, to shew that it was not simple indignities offered to individuals they were now called to repress and punish, but those offered to the French nation. 'What,' said he, 'when an ambassador of the king was insulted in a foreign nation, you thought it a sufficient cause of war; and will you permit the deputies of the French nation to be treated with as much outrage as they could suffer from the Prussians or Austrians?'

He added, 'that as the assembly was not free, and could not deliberate with safety, measures should be taken to secure the inviolability and liberty of the members; besides, he proposed that it should be immediately decreed, that all the *fédérés* should leave Paris.'

Kersaint seemed to approve of this; so I suppose it will be adopted.

At this time I left the assembly; and after calling on an acquaintance, I returned by the quay of the Louvre, intending, before I went to the hotel de Moscovie, just to

step into the gardens of the Tuilleries, by the gate next the Pont Royal, and was a good deal surprised to find that two Swiss sentinels refused entrance to all but those who presented a ticket: while I stood on the bridge I saw several persons admitted by that means, and the gate carefully shut immediately after them. This seemed to be viewed with an evil eye by the people—some of whom murmured, and talked of the garden's belonging to the public, and not to the family lodged in the palace; of all of whom the populace spoke with irreverence, and of some of them in terms too indecent to be repeated.

From the violent manner in which the debates are carried on in the national assembly, and other circumstances I have remarked since my arrival in Paris, I am strongly inclined to think, that the sudden transition which the French have made from a government of powerful and rigid controul, to one so very indulgent and lax as that now established, will have some bad effects on the minds and conduct of a people of so much vivacity as the natives of this country. Besides, the French have been thought to have more levity of character than the natives of other countries of Europe. This levity was a source of consolation to them under an oppressive government; it prevented the tyranny which was exercised over them, from making the same impression that it would have made on a people of more serious reflection; but the same levity and vivacity of character which proved a consolation to them in the gloom of despotism, may prove pernicious in the sunshine of liberty.

Perhaps they would have borne a free government with more moderation, and of course they would have had a better chance of enjoying it long, had it been obtained in a more gradual manner.

The French have reared the pillar of liberty with such rapidity, and to such a height, that it seems to have rendered them more giddy than ever.

I had a good deal of conversation this evening with a man of considerable understanding, who has lived many years in this place, and is thought to have opportunities

of knowing the true state of the public affairs: his opinion is, that the duke of Brunswick's manifesto has been of infinite prejudice to the king, because great pains have been taken to make it believed that it was composed with his knowledge and approbation. But this gentleman still thinks, that not only the majority of the national assembly, but also of the most respectable citizens, and of the national guards themselves, are enemies to the idea of dethroning the king; and wish, *bona fide*, to maintain the constitution to which they have sworn; and that they disapprove of all tumultuous assemblings of the people of the fauxbourgs, with a view to force or terrify the king to withdraw his veto from any decree of the assembly, or on any other account. They highly disapprove of that which took place on the 20th of last June, when the mob entered the palace of the Tuilleries, behaved in a very insolent manner, and when the lives of the king and queen were in imminent danger.

It is imagined, however, that something of the same kind is intended to-morrow by the inhabitants of the fauxbourgs, in conjunction with about twelve or fourteen hundred *fédérés*, who lately arrived from Marseilles and from Brittany.

But the national guards being now aware of this intention, and having, no doubt, received instructions how to act, it is probable that the attempt will not be made; or, if it is, will prove abortive; in which case, like most unsuccessful insurrections, it will tend to strengthen, instead of weakening the hands of government.

I am also informed, that besides a complete battalion of Swiss, whose barracks are in the Carousel adjacent to the palace, a considerable number of disbanded officers, and other persons attached to the court, sleep every night within the walls of the palace itself, which seems more than sufficient to prevent any effectual attempt from a disorderly multitude: and I should think it probable, that many of the citizens who were violent patriots at the beginning of the revolution, are now tired of the disorderly

state of affairs, and think, that supporting the king is the most likely way of obtaining that tranquillity which they have so much need of. They may also think, with great reason, that those who excite the populace in the suburbs, wish the ruin of the constitution.

Between eleven and twelve at night, I was disturbed by a great noise in the streets from the beating of drums and repeated huzzas. The landlord informs me, that orders have been given to all the citizens to illuminate their windows; that there is reason to apprehend an attack on the chateau of the Tuilleries; that the drum has beat to arms, and that the national guards are all at the alarm posts of their respective departments. I went into the streets, which are all illuminated—the Pont Neuf is covered with soldiers under arms—a large party of the national guards are also in possession of the Pont Royal—nobody is allowed to pass: yet all seems to be conducted with so much regularity, that whatever mischief may have been intended, will, I hope, be prevented.

I was awaked about two in the morning by the sound of the tocsin, and am informed by the people of the hotel, who have not been in bed, that the inhabitants of the fauxbourgs St. Antoine, St. Marceau, St. Jacques, &c. are assembled; that they are joined by the *fédérés* from Marseilles and Brittany, in the intention of marching to the Tuilleries to require of the king to withdraw his veto to the decree of the national assembly against the priests who refuse the constitutional oath, and on that for assembling an army of 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris.

I hope they will be prevailed on to disperse without making an attempt so unconstitutional. If the king is not allowed the exercise of his veto when he judges it expedient, to give it him was a mockery.

August 10.

Having fallen asleep about three, we were awakened at nine by the firing of cannon—and were told that the

chateau was attacked. Soon after, we heard the cry of 'To arms, citizens, to arms! they slaughter your parents, your brethren, your sons!' and we saw men running half frantic through the streets, exclaiming in that manner. Lord Lauderdale being still indisposed, could not go out; and my son remained at the hotel with him.

As soon as I was dressed I went into the streets; a party of the national guards, with a number of citizens armed, were marching towards the Tuilleries—another body of men followed soon after, dragging several cannons along the Quai de Mazarin, where I was, to the Pont Royal. Some men flying from the Tuilleries along this bridge, were killed by the national guards before they reached that end to which the cannon were advancing. Those cannon being mounted on the bridge, were repeatedly discharged against that part of the chateau which looks to the Seine. Some women who stood near me on the Quai de Voltaire, as soon as they heard the first discharge, clapped their hands, and cried, Bravo! Bravo!

In the meantime there was some firing of musketry from the windows of the Louvre facing the river—a few people were killed and wounded on the quays. Those who were on the side next the Louvre had run from the quay to the brink of the river, that they might be sheltered from the shot by the parapet. A party of national guards who marched along the Quai Mazarin, as often as they saw a group of people conversing together, called *Bas les motions*,* and dispersed them—the officer at the same time advising all who were without arms to retire to their houses. A little after, as a body of pikemen hurried past, one of them in a very decisive style pointed me out as an aristocrate. Such an accusation in

* No motions.—The questions moved and debated in clubs respecting the measures of government, are called motions. From clubs and societies, such as the Jacobins, they were extended to coffee houses, particularly the Caffé de Foi in the Palais Royal; and at length the same kind of debates were carried on in the groups formed by people who met accidentally in the public walks and gardens. The guards did not think this a proper moment for such debates or motions.

the streets of Paris, any time these four years, would have exposed a man to insult: in the present circumstances, when execution is generally the immediate consequence of accusation, it might have proved fatal; but the valet de place, who accompanied me, declared, that so far from being an aristocrate, or any thing like it, I was un Anglais. 'Bon!' cried the pikemen, and continued their course.

After this admonition I retired to the house of an acquaintance, in the Rue Jacob, from whence I went, a little after, to the Hotel de Moscovie. In the streets I met with great numbers of the national guards and *fédérés* returning home, all of them with pieces of the red uniform of the Swiss guards who had been killed, stuck as trophies on the point of their bayonets.

An officer with a party of the national guards conducted Monsieur d'Affré, in a coach, to the prison of the Abbaye, which is near our hotel. A lady, very genteelly dressed, was guarded through the streets on foot, to the same prison, a little before.

We were informed, 'that in the course of the preceding night great preparations had been made at the Tuilleries to repel the threatened attack from the fauxbourgs; that several thousands of armed men had been introduced into the chateau for that purpose, independent of the battalion of Swiss guards; that many of the national guards had been practised on, by the agents of the court, to join the Swiss, and those of the chateau, who are distinguished by the name of Chevaliers du Poignard, against the people; that while those within the Tuilleries were making preparations for the engagement that was expected in the morning, false patrols were detached all around, under the semblance of patrols of the national guards to keep the peace, but, in reality, with the most hostile intentions against the citizens: that one of those detachments had been met by a body of the national guards, a skirmish had ensued, most of the former had soon fled, but that many had been taken and carried prisoners to the

guard-room at the Feuillans; that the people having heard of this, came in crowds early in the morning, insisting on their being delivered up to them; that a municipal officer had tried to prevent it, but his endeavours had proved vain; the corps de garde had been forced. Four of the prisoners, who were considered as the most guilty, because they were disguised in the uniform of the national guards, and armed with poniards and pistols, had been cruelly slaughtered, and their heads cut off and carried on pikes; that the lives of the rest had been spared at the entreaty of the soldiers who took them; that the people of the fauxbourgs, with the Marseillois and Bretons, had marched to the square of the Carousel, and demanded admittance into the palace of the Tuilleries; that the king, queen, and royal family had retreated from the palace, and taken sanctuary in the national assembly; and that, in about three quarters of an hour after they were there, the Swiss guards and those within the chateau had fired grape shot and musketry on the people drawn up in the court of the chateau, and continued a rolling fire of ten minutes; that the *fédérés*, supported by the people of the fauxbourgs, had rallied, and attacked the defenders of the castle: had driven them out of it into the garden, where, in their flight, they had been slaughtered by the national guards, who now, both foot and horse, took a decided part against the court, and for the people; that a great number of the citizens and *fédérés* had been killed, as well as many of the Chevaliers du Poignard; but that very few of the Swiss guards were left alive; for those who, instead of flying into the garden or streets, had sought shelter in the apartments of the palace, had been massacred with the domestics of the king and queen, and all, of whatever quality or denomination, who were supposed to favour their cause. We have also heard with much regret, that an abbé, I forget his name, the preceptor of the prince royal, was killed, with some Swiss soldiers whom he had humanely attempted to save, by concealing them in a closet of his

apartment. Clermont Tonnerre, we hear, was also killed in the street.'

Such is the account which, with some variations, we have heard this day.—All agree that the Swiss began hostilities by giving the first fire on the people. It is even asserted, that they pretended to be well disposed to the cause of the people; shook hands with some of them; and having thus thrown them off their guard, they most perfidiously fired on them.

This account, however, I do not credit, because it is contrary to the character of the Swiss, who are an honest and plain-dealing people; and because, after the king and royal family had forsaken the castle, I can see no motive which the Swiss could have for firing, but self-defence. I therefore think it most probable, especially considering the vivacity of the one people, and the phlegm of the other, that the French were the aggressors.

I shall endeavour to get a circumstantial and accurate account of this action hereafter; but, at present, the accounts are so opposite that nothing is to be depended on.

I have this day been witness to many interesting, and even affecting scenes in the streets. During the cannonade and noise of the musketry, the grief and anxiety of all for the friends and relations they knew to be then engaged, produced a most expressive silence in some, while the air was rent by the exclamations of others, particularly the women and children, who trembled for the lives of fathers, husbands, and brothers, who had left their families at the first call to arms, and had not been seen since. When the action was over, and the national guards returning, many of the women rushed into the ranks to embrace and felicitate their husbands and brothers on their safety. I saw one father of a numerous family met at his own door by his wife and children. After embracing each as they crowded around him, he entered the shop, carrying one of his children in each of his arms; his daughter following with his grenadier's cap in her hand, and his two little boys dragging his musket.

August 1.

When the king and queen entered the hall of the national assembly, they were accompanied by the dauphin, their daughter, and the princess Elizabeth; and attended by the ministers and some members of the municipality of Paris.

The king, at first, placed himself at the side of the president, and said, 'I am come hither to prevent a great crime—I believe myself in safety in the midst of you, gentlemen.'

The president answered, 'that he might rely on the assembly, who had sworn to die at their post in supporting the rights of the nation and of the constituted authorities.'

It was observed by one of the members, that the king's presence put a restraint on the debates; on which he descended to the bar where his family was, and with them was conducted into a box on the right hand of the president, called La Loge du Logographe, where seven or eight persons used to sit around a table to take down in writing the debates, and every thing remarkable which passed in the assembly.

They had not been situated long there when the action began. The national assembly is very near the place in which the engagement was. Several cannon bullets struck the roof of the hall, and some musket shot entered the windows. What interest all within must have taken in this action, will be easily imagined. Some members rose and changed their seats when the cannon were first heard; but the president calling to order, said it was the duty of every member to remain with steadiness at his post, and to serve his country to the best of his abilities. After this every member kept his place, except such as were deputed on some particular business by the president.

The king said to the president, that he had given orders to the Swiss not to fire.

The firing of the cannon and muskets continues. The assembly remain silent for some time.

A member then made a motion, that it should be immediately decreed, that all property and persons should be under the safeguard of the law and of the people.

This was applauded and decreed.

They next decreed an act or proclamation to all the citizens, inviting them to have confidence in their representatives, who had sworn to save the country.

Sometime after the action was over, a deputation from the new chosen community of Paris appeared at the bar: this election had been made the preceding night; and the new elected council had usurped the council chamber, and driven out the old, all but Petion, the mayor of Paris; Manuel, the procureur; and Danton, minister of justice: they were preceded by three banners, on which were inscribed, 'Liberté! Patrie! Egalité!' One of them spoke as follows.—

'Législateurs! ce sont de nouveaux magistrats du peuple qui se présentent à votre barre. Les dangers de la patrie ont provoqué notre nomination. Les circonstances la consacrent; et notre patriotisme saura nous en rendre dignes. Le peuple, las enfin d'être depuis quatre ans l'éternel jouet des perfidies de la cour et des intrigans, a senti qu'il étoit tems d'arrêter l'empire sur les bords de l'abyme.

'Législateurs, il ne nous reste plus qu'à le seconder. Nous venons ici en son nom vous demander des mesures de salut public. Petion, Manuel, et Danton sont toujours nos collegues. Santerre est à la tête de la force armée. Que les traitres frémissent à leur tour! Ce jour est le triomphe des vertus civiques.

'Le sang du peuple a coulé; des troupes étrangères, qui ne sont restées dans nos murs que par un nouveau délit du pouvoir exécutif, ont tiré sur les citoyens; nos malheureux frères ont laissés des veuves et des orphelins.

'Le peuple, qui nous envoie vers vous, nous a chargés de vous déclarer, qu'il ne pouvoit reconnoître pour juge des mesures extraordinaires auxquelles la nécessité et la résistance à l'oppression l'ont porté, que le peuple François, votre souverain et le nôtre, dans ses assemblées primaires.' *

This address, which was received with high applause by the people in the tribunes, must have been exceedingly offensive to the king; yet I am told he heard it with apparent tranquillity, while the queen shewed evident marks of indignation.

It was decreed that the present ministers had lost the confidence of the nation; and that the national assembly should appoint six new ones, none of whom were to be taken from its own body. But when they were about to proceed in the usual form to this nomination, it was observed that three patriotic ministers lately dismissed, and who carried with them the esteem of the people, naturally presented themselves to their choice. It was immediately decreed, that Roland, Servan, and Claviere should be appointed provisionally.

This last word was added, because the king may be reinstated in his authority by the ensuing convention; in

* Legislators, the new magistrates of the people appear at your bar; the dangers of the country occasioned our election; the circumstances rendered it necessary, and our patriotism renders us worthy of it. The people, at length tired of being during four years the dupes of the perfidy of the court, have thought it time to endeavour to save the empire on the brink of ruin.

Legislators, all we have to do is to assist the people. We come here, in their name, to be advised by you in measures for the public service. Petion, Manuel, and Danton, are still our colleagues. Santerre is at the head of the armed force.

Let traitors tremble in their turn; this day is the triumph of civic virtue. Foreign troops who have remained within our walls only by a new crime of the executive power, have fired upon the citizens. Our unhappy brethren have left behind them widows and orphans.

The people, who have deputed us to you, have given us in charge to declare, that they will acknowledge no other judges of the extraordinary measures which necessity and resistance to oppression obliged them to adopt, but the French people united in the primary assemblies.

which case he will have the right to confirm or reject them, and name others. These three are for the home affairs, the war department, and contributions.

I went this morning to see the places where the action of yesterday happened. The naked bodies of the Swiss, for they were already stripped, lay exposed on the ground. I saw a great number on the terrace, immediately before the palace of the Tuilleries; some lying single in different parts of the gardens; and some in heaps, one above another, particularly near the terrace of the Feuillans.

The garden and adjacent courts were crowded with spectators, among whom there was a considerable proportion of women, whose curiosity it was evident was at least equal to their modesty.

The bodies of the national guards, of the citizens of the fauxbourgs, and of the *fédérés*, have been already removed by their friends; those of the Swiss only lie exposed in this shocking manner. Of about 800 or 1000 of these, who were yesterday mustered in the Tuilleries, I am told there are not 200 left alive.

Seeing a number of people going up the grand staircase of the palace, to view the ravage that was made in all the rooms by the action of yesterday, I intermingled with the crowd, and had ascended half way, when I heard the shrieks of some one above, and soon after the body of a man was carried down. I was told that he had been detected in the act of stealing some of the furniture belonging to the palace, and was instantly put to death by the people around him.

This expeditious method of executing justice removed all inclination of visiting the royal apartments; I descended to the terrace, and took another melancholy walk among the bodies of those whom I had seen two days before in all the pride of health and military pomp. In point of size and looks, I do not suppose there is a finer battalion of infantry in Europe than they formed at that time.

After they gave way, they were slaughtered by those

who kept aloof while they resisted. Some were pursued through the streets, and dragged from the shops and houses whither they had fled for shelter. About fifty or sixty who asked for quarter were saved by the Marseillois: they were delivered to the national guards, and conducted by them to the Maison de Ville. While those unfortunate men were detained in the square, waiting for orders from the municipality in what prison they were to be confined, the multitude, enraged no doubt by the death of their friends and relations, and irritated at the sight of the wounded citizens who were carrying to their houses and to the hospitals, began to cry for vengeance on the prisoners; and at length, like a parcel of drunken savages, they burst through the ranks of the national guards, and butchered the defenceless Swiss in cold blood. I cannot deem the national guards guiltless. I have been told that they could not save the Swiss without killing the citizens; but such furies do not deserve the name of citizens, and were infinitely more criminal than the Swiss.

From the gardens of the Tuilleries I walked through the centre gate of the palace into the court, and the Carousel, where the action first began. At the very beginning, a number of the crowd were killed and wounded at the bottom of the great stairs, by an unexpected fire from the top of the first flight of stairs. Some of the Swiss themselves, who were intermingled and conversing with the people, were killed by this fire. The bodies of the Swiss were lying in various parts of the area.

The barracks of the Swiss guards, which divide this large area from the Carousel, had been set on fire yesterday, and are still burning. Many of the bodies were thrown into the flames—I saw some half consumed.

Sick at the sight, I hurried from this scene of horror, and about mid-day I went to the national assembly. While I waited at the door which enters to the assembly from the garden of the Feuillans, for the gentleman who was to procure me admittance, a long procession advanced to the gate: it consisted of a number of persons, some in

the uniform of the national guards, and some in the dress of citizens, each of whom held a man in a white waistcoat, but without a coat, by the hand. The latter were generally pale and dejected; and the men under whose protection they were, encouraged and supported them.

I was immediately informed that a considerable number of the Swiss were saved, and had been confined in the corps de garde of the post of the Feuillans: a mob, however, had begun to gather about the guard-room, and some horrid wretches among them cried aloud for the heads of those unhappy soldiers. On this, it was deemed the best means for their safety to conduct them to the bar of the assembly, and demand its protection.

Lasource hastened to inform the assembly of the danger in which the poor Swiss were, and to request its protection; while Gorsas remained at the door of the guard-room haranguing the mob, and using every means which humanity inspired, to prevent them from attacking the prisoners.

They were conducted accordingly from the guard-room to the assembly door in the manner above mentioned, by some citizens, among whom was Lasource, and others of the deputies. I entered a little before the Swiss, and got a seat in the body of the house among the members.

The king, queen, with their son and daughter, and the princess Elizabeth; the princess Lamballe, and three or four other attendants, had remained in the Lodge du Logographe, yesterday, from nine in the morning till late at night. They had been then conducted to an adjacent committee-room, where they had remained all night, and returned to the same lodge in the morning, when the assembly met. My eyes were naturally directed to the box in which they were. From the place in which I sat, I could not see the king, but I had a full view of the queen and the rest of the royal family. Her beauty is gone! No wonder. She seemed to listen with an undisturbed air to the speakers. Sometimes she whispered to her sister-in-law, and to madame de Lamballe; once or twice

she stood up, and, leaning forward, surveyed every part of the hall. A person near me remarked, that her face indicated rage and the most provoking arrogance. I perceived nothing of that nature; although the turn of the debate, as well as the remarks which were made by some of the members, must have appeared to her highly insolent and provoking. On the whole, her behaviour in this trying situation seemed full of propriety and dignified composure. I know not whether the height from which this unhappy princess has fallen, and her present deplorable situation, may not make me view her with additional interest and partiality; but I am surprised to find that the edge of that rancour which has prevailed in this country against her, seems to be in no degree blunted by her misfortunes.

It was impossible to look at the prince royal without reflecting that his lot, which no doubt has been considered as the highest of all prizes, was now, of a sudden, and without any fault of his, changed into the most unfortunate that could be drawn in the lottery of life. At present he is too young to calculate the amount, or taste the bitterness of the calamity which has befallen him; and seemed to me to suffer more from being so long confined in such a narrow place, than from all that has happened besides, either to his parents or himself.

My attention was drawn from the royal family to the Swiss, as soon as they appeared at the bar. One of their own nation, as I supposed by his accent, addressed the assembly in their favour: it was evidently the desire of the members that they should be saved; but all those in the tribunes were not in the same disposition—one exclaimed, 'Ils ont assassiné nos freres.' *

La Croix made a speech, the tendency of which was to soften the minds of the people, and incline them to mercy.

Notwithstanding which, some wretches from the tribunes called for justice and vengeance for the death of their friends.

* They assassinated our brethren.

The members in various parts of the hall spoke directly up to the people in the tribunes immediately above them, and seemed to entreat them to be more humane. One member near me addressed them in the most earnest manner, assuring them, that the unhappy men at the bar were well disposed towards the French nation; that they had acted from ignorance, and in obedience to those whom they thought it their duty as soldiers to obey; but had they known that they were intended to be employed against the citizens, they would have refused even to remain in the chateau.

This expostulation produced an effect on many, but a few still murmured; on which a deputy lost his temper so far as to address that part of the gallery from whence the murmur proceeded, in angry terms. He was stopped by those next him, who put him in mind, that this might irritate the people still more, and prevent what he wished: he sat down, saying, 'Ces gens sont des bêtes féroces.' *

I do not remember that I ever felt myself more affected than during this contest. I often threw my eyes into the Loge du Logographe. What must have been the feelings of the king and queen! What those of the poor Swiss themselves! While any of the members were speaking in their favour, and assuring the people that they had acted from constraint, and never were the enemies of the French nation, they stretched out their arms in confirmation of what was said. I was filled with indignation at the obduracy of some wretches in the galleries, who still remained inexorable, although by far the greater part was now moved to compassion.

Lasource, at last, made an observation which seemed to have great effect. 'It is not the people,' said he, who thirst for the blood of those men, but a few villains who excite you to massacre them, for fear that they should give testimony of the conspiracies of the court.'

After all, however, La Croix proposed that they should not be immediately carried back to the guard-room, but

* These people are ferocious brutes.

remain in the assembly till there should be a certainty that the people without were dispersed. They were ordered to take seats accordingly, which they did behind the deputies.

This measure occurred to La Croix, on hearing that some of the porters at the hotels, who are called Swiss, although most of them are Frenchmen, have been killed by the undiscriminating fury of the mob.

The poor fellow who opens the gate of our hotel has taken the alarm, and begs that in future we may call him the porter, and not the Swiss. All of the same profession in Paris follow his example; they have already removed the inscription, 'Parlez au Suisse,' which is generally fixed on a board at the gate of hotels, and put up in its stead, 'Parlez au portier.'

The remaining three ministers were elected by, what is called, appel nominal. The majority of voices were for Le Brun for foreign affairs, Monge for the marine, and Danton as minister of justice. I saw some of the ministers, and Santerre, who is appointed commander in chief of the Parisian national guards, take the oaths before I left the assembly; and when I went away the Swiss soldiers were still in it; but, on going out, I was sorry to see a great number of men, whose aspects I did not much like, still surrounding the hall; this gave me uneasiness on account of the Swiss. But I was informed in the evening, that some hours after I left the assembly it had been proposed, that to secure the lives of the Swiss, they should be accompanied to the Hotel de Bourbon by the members of the assembly. This was prevented by a number of the *fédérés* from Marseilles, the very men whose intrepid attack had put the Swiss to flight, appearing at the bar. 'The Swiss,' said they, 'are no longer our enemies, we will escort them.'

They were conveyed accordingly to the Palais de Bourbon, protected by their conquerors from the cowardly rage of those who had shrunk from them when they were arm-

ed, and dared to attack them only now when they were defenceless prisoners.

The magnificent palace of the Condé family is, I understand, at present, a kind of military post. The Swiss are ordered to be detained in some courts belonging to that palace, till a court martial shall finally determine their fate. This measure was proposed by La Croix, by way of appeasing the people; but there is no question that the design is to acquit them all. I am told the number is above a hundred.

It is a relief to my mind that it has ended so. I had many unpleasant sensations this day while I remained in the assembly, being anxious for the safety of the Swiss, shocked at the savage disposition manifested by some of the people in the galleries, and filled with indignation to see the legislators of a nation forced to entreat an act of justice and humanity from those whom they have a right to command. This is the temporary effect of that disorder which naturally attends a great convulsion.

I have already mentioned, that the assembly displayed great firmness during the engagement yesterday. When the cannon were first heard, one of the deputies exclaimed,—'Do you hear! They are now endeavouring to destroy freedom, and re-establish despotism. Our enemies have been encouraged to this audacious attempt by our supineness. Let us rouse with the people—let us swear to maintain liberty and equality.'

On this, all the members started up, stretched forth their right hands, and pronounced, 'Oui, nous le jurons.'*

The enthusiasm instantly spread to the spectators in the galleries, and the cries of 'Vive la liberté! Vive la nation!'† resounded through the hall.

During the sitting of yesterday, the assembly decreed, that the French nation is invited to form a conventional

* Yes, we swear.

† Liberty for ever! The country for ever!

assembly, of which the mode and time of election will be particularised hereafter.

That Lewis XVI is suspended from his authority, till such time as the conventional assembly shall decide on proper measures for securing the blessing of freedom to the people.

The payment of the civil list is likewise suspended.

The king and royal family are to remain under the immediate safeguard of the assembly, and within the walls where it meets, till such time as tranquillity is established in Paris; and then they are to be conducted to the palace of Luxembourg, and there put under the protection of the citizens and of the laws.

All public officers, whether military or civil, who shall leave their posts in the present moment of danger and alarm, are declared infamous, and traitors to their country.

Those and other decrees of yesterday were sent to the eighty-three departments of France, by couriers who set out last night.

August 12.

On the night of the 10th, commissaries were sent from the national assembly to the armies, to explain the motives of these decrees. These commissaries have the power of pronouncing the suspension of the general officers of whatever rank; they are enjoined to explain to officers and soldiers the decrees pronounced by the assembly, and conciliate them to the present measures. Three in particular went off that night to the army commanded by La Fayette. It will not be a very easy task to reconcile that general to what has happened. It is by some people believed that the commissaries have orders to put him under arrest. It is a bold measure to arrest a popular general at the head of an army by whom he is beloved, and the assembly have accordingly intrusted very bold men with the execution of it. Kersaint, who is the person most to be depended on in the commission, is a naval officer of

great professional merit, and who also has the reputation of being a man of sense, courage, and integrity. Some people, however, think that the commissaries run a greater risk of being hanged by the orders of the general, than the general runs of being arrested by theirs. At all events, France is at present in more extraordinary and more critical circumstances than we have any record of any nation's having ever been. After having, by a miraculous effort, overthrown a vast fabric of despotism, and formed a new system of limited monarchy, the people, whether with or without reason I cannot yet determine, become at once convinced that their king is betraying them; they attack his palace, confine his person, and suspend his authority. In the meantime, the legislative assembly, thinking themselves justified by necessity in going thus far, and unwilling to give an example of an usurpation of power, decree a national convention to meet within seven weeks, and that their own dissolution shall take place as soon as the convention is formed: the elections for that purpose to go on at a time when the nation itself is threatened by Russia, Sardinia, Spain, and a coalition of the princes of Germany; and when the frontiers of France are attacked by the numerous disciplined forces of Austria and Prussia, abetted by princes of the blood, at the head of 22,000 emigrants.

In such circumstances, France may say with Frederic II of Prussia, 'I know not whether I shall survive this war; but sure I am, my enemies can obtain no glory by overcoming me.'

The national assembly have decreed, that the statues in the public places shall be destroyed, and monuments in honour of liberty substituted in their stead. The statue of Lewis XIII in the Place Royal, those of Lewis XIV in the Places Vendôme and Victoire, with that of Lewis XV in the beautiful opening which bore his name, but which, I understand, is to bear it no longer, are already overturned, and are to be removed. All the amiable and popular qualities of Henry IV will not save his statue on

the Pont Neuf from the same fate. To the amateurs who lament over this as barbarous and gothic, it is answered, —'L'art en gémira peut-être, mais pour un chef-d'œuvre perdu la liberté en reproduira mille.' *

As the assembly have only suspended the exercise of the regal power, but have not abolished royalty, this decree against the statues is rather exceeding the limits they had traced to themselves: it is intended no doubt as a hint to the conventional assembly.

But whatever reason the French may have for proceeding in the manner they do with respect to their own kings or their statues, I see no wisdom or necessity in their provoking the hatred of all the crowned heads in Europe. They seem to have rushed a little wantonly into their present war with the emperor. But if they can give good political reasons for that, there certainly is none for their industriously drawing on themselves the enmity of all other monarchies.

Yet those of the best talents among them may be accused of this imprudence. Brissot, in a discourse pronounced on the 9th of July last, 'Sur les causes des dangers de la patrie,' talking of the combination of princes against France, uses the following expression.—'Ces puissances ne tendent pas à prendre quelques villes, à gagner quelques batailles, à s'arrondir, à s'aggrandir. Non, une idée bien plus profonde les dirige et les rallie. Le systeme de liberté qui gouverne la France les inquiete: ils y voient une source intarissable d'où s'écouleront, tôt ou tard, des torrens qui doivent renverser tous les trônes de l'Europe: ils voient que les rois sont mûrs, et ils veulent prévenir l'époque où ils doivent tomber. C'est donc ici, messieurs, une guerre à mort entre la royauté et la liberté. Les tyrans de l'Europe veulent nous écraser, ou périr.' †

* The arts may suffer for a time; but for one masterpiece that is destroyed liberty will produce thousands.

† The chief aim of those powers is not to take a few towns, or to gain battles, or to increase their dominions. A more serious idea directs and

And Barbaroux, one of the deputies from Marseilles, in answer to an insinuation from some of the members, that the *fédérés* from that town had designs against the life of the king, said this morning in the assembly,—' Eh, messieurs, les Marseillois n'aiment pas les rois, car ils sont les fléaux de la terre: mais ils ne s'en débarrasseront jamais par un crime; ils attendront le jugement du peuple souverain: et d'ailleurs Louis XVI a creusé lui-même le tombeau de la royauté; c'est le seul bien qu'il nous a fait.' *

It is impossible for me, a stranger just arrived at Paris, to know whether the treachery imputed to the king is well or ill founded; but I see the necessity of charging him with it, to justify the present measures in the eyes of the public. At Paris they seem inclined enough to believe the whole. Whether the armies and provinces are in the same disposition, is yet to be seen.

August 13.

The primary assemblies for choosing the electors are appointed for the 26th of this month. The electors or deputies for the ensuing convention are to assemble on the 2d of September. The members chosen for the convention, which are not to exceed in number the present legislative assembly, are to meet at Paris on the 20th of the same month.

The former distinction of the citizens into actifs and non actifs is suppressed: all that is necessary to entitle a man to vote is, that he be 21 years of age, a Frenchman, who has lived for one year in the country on his own revenue,

unites them. That system of liberty which governs France disquiets them; in it they see an inexhaustible source from which torrents will flow which sooner or latter must overwhelm all the thrones in Europe. They see that kings are ripe, but they wish to postpone the time of their falling. This, gentlemen, is a mortal war between royalty and liberty—the tyrants of Europe must crush us, or perish.

* I acknowledge, gentlemen, that we men of Marseilles are not fond of kings, for they are the scourges of the earth; but we will never rid ourselves of them in a criminal manner: we will wait for the judgment of the sovereign people. Besides, Lewis XVI has himself dug the grave of royalty: it is the only good he ever did us.

or the produce of his labour, and is not in a state of servitude. The electors are to have three livres a day during their mission, and are allowed at the rate of one livre a league for the distance from their usual place of residence to that in which the election of members for their department is to be held.

The only conditions requisite for eligibility, either as elector or deputy, are those above mentioned, whatever his profession is or has been. The citizens in the primary assemblies, and the electors in the electoral assembly, are to take the oath to maintain liberty and equality, or die in defending them.

The above regulations will no doubt be observed—although they are not *decreed*, but only recommended by the present assembly, who do not assume the right of ordaining a form for the exercise of sovereignty in the creation of a national convention.

Instead of *decreeing*, therefore, the assembly merely *invite* the people to observe this method.

In the meantime, I occasionally see people who, when the convention is mentioned, shrug their shoulders and smile, in a manner which plainly implies, that in their opinion there will be no conventional assembly. And one person assured me in a whisper, that if there should happen to be a convention at Paris, on or about the 20th of September, he was convinced it would be composed of Prussiens actifs et citoyens passifs.

This, however, does not seem the opinion of the people in general. The public walks are crowded with men, women, and children of all conditions, with the most gay unconcerned countenances imaginable. A stranger just come to Paris, without having heard of the late transactions, and walking through the gardens of the Tuilleries, Place de Louis XVI, and Champs Elisées, would naturally imagine, from the frisky behaviour and cheerful faces of the company he meets, that this day was a continuation of a series of days appointed for dissipation, mirth, and enjoyment; he could not possibly imagine that the

ground he is walking over was so lately covered with the bodies of slaughtered men; or that the gay lively people he saw were so lately overwhelmed with sorrow and dismay.

I drove to many places in Paris this morning. The epithet *royal*, which was formerly so profusely assumed and inscribed with pride and ostentation, is now carefully effaced from every shop, magazine, auberge, or hotel; all those also who were so vain of announcing over their doors that they were the tradesmen of the king or queen, or in any way employed by them, have removed every word, emblem, or sign which could revive the remembrance of such a connection; and at present a tailor would rather advertise that he was breeches-maker to a sans-culottes, than to a prince of the blood royal.

Above the great gate of the church of Notre Dame, are the figures in stone of twenty-six kings of France, from Childebert I to Philip August. I was told that in this general fury against kings, all those venerable personages had been hewn to pieces by the people. I had the curiosity to go to the cathedral on purpose, to see whether absurd zeal had been carried this length, and had the satisfaction of finding this royal society safe and uninjured by any hand but that of time.

The ridiculous gigantic statue of St. Christopher, with the Bon Dieu upon his shoulders, which, I remember, stood formerly within the church, is now removed; but I believe the revolution cannot claim the merit of this improvement, as it was made before it began.

From the Notre Dame I accompanied a young man to the Carmelites in the Rue St. Jacques; he had a curiosity to see the famous Magdalen by Le Brun. The utmost excess of grief is strongly expressed in this picture, particularly in the eyes and upper part of the face; but I cannot believe the story, so often repeated, that the duchess de la Valiere, who retired to this convent when she found herself supplanted in the affections of Louis XIV by Madame de Montespan, ever sat for this picture.

How could it be believed that a woman who retired from the world, whether from disappointed love, or devotion, would assume, like an actress, the features of excessive sorrow, and sit in a chosen attitude, that a painter might draw her in a particular character? Vanity prompts people to this kind of constraint every day, but real grief or devotion, never.

If she never sat for it then, it is not probable that it has much resemblance of Madame de la Valiere: yet more people are drawn to see it, from the notion of its being her portrait, than from the pleasure they take in viewing a fine picture.

The man who shewed us the Carmelite church said, there were at present forty nuns in the convent, all of whom had the liberty to leave it, but they chose to remain. 'They are very old, I suppose,' said I. 'On the contrary,' replied the man, 'there are some of them young and handsome.'

If there is any merit in retiring from the world and becoming useless to society, these nuns have a claim to more now than formerly, since they do that spontaneously, which before they possibly could not help.

August 14.

Although the French are less subject to ennui than any other people, yet they are extremely inventive of expedients to prevent it. Of all the contrivances for that purpose I ever heard of, one of the most singular was what I was informed of this morning.

As I stood on the quay of the Louvre, a battalion, part of which was already on the Pont Royal, marched past; we were told that the mayor of Paris was in the front; they were conducting some Swiss to the Abbaye. While I was contemplating this scene, a man, who seemed at least seventy years of age, entered into conversation with me: a girl of about ten or eleven held him by the arm. He praised the appearance of the men; and the young

girl was delighted with the rough caps and immense moustaches of the grenadiers.

'Mademoiselle is your daughter?' said I.

'No,' answered he; 'I do not know that I ever had any children, *although* I have lived all my life a bachelor. This poor little girl,' added he, 'has lived with me several years. She was quite destitute, and I took her from charity. People are often at a loss how to amuse themselves, particularly towards the decline of life. I have had a great deal of pleasure, for my own part, in teaching this little girl mathematics.'

A young gentleman who was present burst into laughter; and the old man perceiving that I could with difficulty refrain, 'I see,' said he, good humouredly, 'that you do not credit what I tell you; but it is literally true. I have found much amusement in instructing this child in algebra and the mathematics. She is a very apt scholar, as you shall see.'

'Tell me, my dear, what are the three angles of any triangle equal to?'

'Two right angles,' answered she.

'Exactly,' said the old man; 'and pray, what is the cube root of eight?'

'Two,' answered the girl.

'And what is the cubic number of four?' resumed he.

She immediately replied, 'Sixty-four.'

Having enjoyed our surprise a little, and finding we were going a different road, he took his leave of us in high spirits, and walked away with the girl holding his arm. I mention this rencontre merely for its singularity, and not by way of advice to men in the decline of life. For, although it seems to have succeeded wonderfully with this particular old man, it would be rash to infer, that it would be equally safe and salutary for every old man to amuse himself in teaching a young girl mathematics.

On quitting him I walked to the national assembly: One of the cannoneers who had distinguished himself in the action of the 10th, on the side of the people, was at the bar: a considerable quantity of silver plate had been taken by this man from those who had stolen it from the palace; and having been brought by him to the assembly, now lay on the table.

Many instances of the same disinterested spirit were exhibited, as I have been repeatedly told by those who were present in the assembly immediately after the engagement. The jewels of the queen, many massy pieces of plate, very valuable pieces of furniture which could have been easily concealed, all the silver utensils belonging to the chapel, were brought to the assembly by those who made the first irruption into the palace. Some poor fellows who had not whole clothes on their backs, brought little sacks of gold and silver coin, and deposited them unopened in the hall of the assembly. One soldier brought his hat full of louis, and emptied it on the table.

It is in the times of great political struggles and revolutions, that the minds of men are most apt to be exalted above the selfish considerations of ordinary life: those are the epochs of great virtues as well as of great vices. It is an error to imagine, that men of the lowest rank in life are unsusceptible of heroic and generous sentiments. All who are susceptible of enthusiasm are capable of being actuated by them. It is the minions of fortune, those who have been pampered from their infancy by the hand of luxury, and early accustomed to every kind of profusion, whose minds sink into torpor for want of exertion; it is such as those that are the most likely to be unsusceptible of generous sentiments, and incapable of heroic efforts.

August 15.

I went this morning to call on M. Gautier the banker. As I crossed the court to go to his office, I met an old gentleman whose face I thought I had seen before, but

was not certain. We saluted each other without speaking. When I entered, I was informed by M. Gautier it was the abbé Raynal. I was happy at this information, because I had heard, that happening to have slept the preceding night in the palace of the Tuilleries, he had been killed on the morning of the 10th, as I fear many real friends of liberty were.

Although the national assembly had decreed that the royal family should be lodged in the palace of Luxembourg, this was delayed, because a deputation from the section des quatre nations represented to the assembly, that there are subterraneous passages belonging to that building, by which the king might be carried off.

On the same day another petition was presented, of a singular nature indeed. In this the assembly are reproached for having decreed only the suspension of the king, when all France wishes his being dethroned. 'Pourquoi,' continue these modest petitioners, 'attendre la convention nationale? Le peuple est là pour sanctionner vos decrets. Louis XVI est atteint de la malédiction nationale; il a lâchement fui de son palais, pour laisser plus audacieux les assassins du peuple; il n'est venu dans votre sein que pour dicter votre arrêt, si ses agens eussent été victorieux. Des veuves, des enfans désolés vous demandent vengeance. Qui de vous n'est pas disposé à devenir le juge sevére du scélérat Louis XVI? Commandez vos généraux de faire lire à tous les peuples la déclaration des droits de l'homme, et de proclamer la guerre à tous les tyrans.' *

The terms in which those petitioners mention the king

* Why wait for the national convention? The people are ready to sanction your decrees. Lewis XVI is covered with the curses of his country. He shamefully abandoned his palace, that the assassins of the people might act more boldly. He came among you for no other purpose than to pronounce your condemnation, if his troops had been victorious. Widows and wretched infants call to you for vengeance. Can any of you be unwilling to become the severe judge of the flagitious Lewis Give orders to your generals that the declaration of the rights of man be read to every people, and let them declare war against all tyrants.

are equally odious on account of their barbarity and their falsehood.

They are also insolent to the national assembly, which has declared, that not presuming to determine what the will of the nation is respecting the king, this point is left to the decision of the nation itself, to be expressed by the organ of a convention of its own choosing. This is all unnecessary, say the petitioners. What you do *not know* we will tell you. All the people wish the king to be dethroned; take our word for it, and save the trouble of calling a conventional assembly.

If, however, this address to the assembly is intended as an *order*, which I am informed many late petitions are, then all the expressions are not so improper; we are then only surprised at its being entitled a *petition*.

The commune de Paris, which is a council or assembly composed of members from the 48 sections of Paris, not approving of the Luxembourg for the king's residence, sent a deputation to the bar of the national assembly. where Manuel, their procureur, said,—' La France est libre, car Louis est sujet de la loi. Nous venons vous proposer pour sa demeure le Temple—nous vous proposons de le faire conduire avec *tout le respect dû à l'infortune*,' * &c.

The assembly applauded his speech, and agreed to the proposal: but it were to be wished that the treatment of the unfortunate family had corresponded with the sentiments which the assembly approved.

The loge or box in which the royal family sat for three days from morning till night, is a room of about nine or ten feet square, at the president's right hand, and separated from the hall of the assembly by small iron bars: the entry is behind from the corridor into a kind of closet, through which you pass into the loge. This closet was the only place into which they could retire; and they

* France is free, because Lewis is subject to law. We propose the Temple for his residence, and we wish him to be conducted thither with all the regard due to the unfortunate.

came into the loge at nine of the morning of the 10th, and remained till midnight, when they were conducted to an adjacent committee-room, where they passed the night, returning to the loge about ten in the morning.

On the 11th and 12th they retired at about nine or ten at night; and on the 13th they were conducted to their prison at the Temple. As this small closet was the only place to which they could retire, they were under the necessity of taking every refreshment they needed through the day there. On the 10th the king ate nothing but a little biscuit and a glass of lemonade; the queen, nothing but a bason of soup. On the subsequent days they had their dinner from a neighbouring traiteur, which was served in the same little closet. Their sole occupation, during all this time, was hearing the debates of the assembly. This would probably have been a severe punishment, although personal abuse had been abstained from; which, however, was not always the case. One member,* in the midst of his harangue, said, 'that all the bloodshed of that day, and all the miseries of the country, were owing to the perjury and treason of that traitor,' pointing to the king. This certainly was not observing *tout le respect dû à l'infortune.* To give way to such an outrage against a man, not to say a king, in this unhappy situation, required the heart of a tiger, and the manners of a *Capuchin.*

Sometime after the firing on the 10th was quite over, the queen being impatient to know the particulars of what had passed, desired a young man who had the care of the box, with whom I have conversed, to go to the Tuilleries and Carousel, and bring her an account of what he saw. The young man went; and without making a very minute survey, or walking over half the ground on which the fighting had been, he reported that he had counted a hundred and twenty dead bodies. The queen shed tears at this report, and asked him no more questions on that subject.

* Chabot, formerly a Capuchin friar.

It must seem strange, the whole assembly being witness to the uncomfortable and indecent situation of the royal family for so long a space of time, that none of them proposed to remedy it; which might have been done, in some degree, by their having the use of some other small rooms which are under the same roof with the assembly hall.

I supposed that those who wished it, were afraid to shew any attention to the royal family; and those who could have done it with safety, wanted the inclination; for it is evident that a considerable part of the members, since the decisive affair of the 10th, are under personal apprehension. Those who voted in favour of M. La Fayette have been threatened by the populace. Gorsas, the editor of the Courier, has been applied to, to publish their names, which he humanely refuses to do. The only meaning of such request certainly is to point them out to the fury of the mob.

When the royal family were conducted from their very narrow apartment in the assembly to the Temple, the affluence of people was prodigious; they exacted that the glasses of the carriage should be kept down—this was complied with. In going through the Place Vendôme, whether it happened from the mere confluence of people, or by premeditated design, the carriage was stopped a considerable time near the overturned statue of Lewis XIV.

The queen was thought to throw disdainful looks on the people. Whether this was really the case, or imaginary, I know not; but I am assured that Petion, the mayor of Paris, who was in the coach, begged of the queen to look with more mildness, as some of them seemed provoked, and he dreaded the consequence.

Her majesty after this threw down her eyes, without looking at the people at all.

The king seemed less sorrowful or pensive. When they were going into the carriage at the assembly hall, some one said they were putting too many into the coach.

On which his majesty, with a look of good humour, replied, 'Not at all; M. Petion knows that I can support a much longer journey with a great many in the carriage.'

This alluded to his return to Paris after being stopped at Varennes, when the king, queen, dauphin, and Madame Elizabeth, with Barnave and Petion, were all in the same carriage.

There were some cries of Vive la Nation! as they passed through the streets; but on the whole the people were more silent and less tumultuous than was expected by many, and the royal family arrived safely at the Temple.

The princess Lamballe, Madame Tourzelle, governess of the royal children, and some other women of the queen's family, were carried to the Temple at the same time.

There have been a great number of persons arrested since the 10th. All those who are known to have passed the night between the 9th and 10th in the palace of the Tuilleries, or are suspected of it, are searched for with diligence. Two men accused of an intention of assassinating Petion have been taken up, and are in prison. What proofs there are of such an intention, I know not; but it is a very serious misfortune, at this particular time, to be under the suspicion.

While I was in the assembly, some members proposed a call of the house, by way of ascertaining who were present during the late important sittings. It was at first agreed for the morrow at mid-day; but one calling out 'this night at midnight,' this last proposal, which seems a little whimsical, was adopted.

The extreme sensibility and vivacity of the French prompt them too often to decide on sudden impulses, without taking time to weigh and deliberate. In the present instance, a rapidity of decision can be of no consequence; but they sometimes shew the same quickness in matters of serious import.

A little English phlegm would be of use in their councils.

I understand that those appointed to examine the papers of Mons. Laporte have found matters of accusation against the king, and the minister himself; and also some curious papers concerning the mysterious business of the pearl necklace, and Madame de la Motte.

August 16.

Having made it my business, ever since I have been in France, to take every opportunity of conversing with the people, I find a great alteration, I will not venture to say in their sentiments, but assuredly in their discourse.

Before the 10th of this month, many spoke in favour of the king, and justified his giving the veto to the two decrees of the national assembly—one respecting a camp of 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the other regarding the priests who refused to take the oaths to the constitution; they said, 'the king had a right, by the constitution, to make use of this power of rejecting decrees at his discretion, and that none but seditious persons would attempt to force his consent.'

They blamed those, as such, who had excited the tumultuous procession of the inhabitants of the suburbs on the 20th of June; lamented that the executive power was not strong enough to punish them; hoped that this would not long be the case; and declared their belief that the king was calumniated by factious men who were enemies to the constitution, while he sincerely wished to maintain it according to the oaths he had taken.

Some tradesmen who did duty as national guards have acknowledged to me, that when called to arms on the night of the 9th, they considered that the purpose for which they were assembled, was to repel any attack on the palace, and defend the persons of the royal family; which duty it was their intention to perform, till they heard the general cry that the Swiss were massacring the people; and then they joined with the citizens against the Swiss, and those in the castle.

The truth, I have reason to believe, is, that few of

the national guards took part in the action till the palace was forced, and the Swiss with all within it began to fly; and if the *fédérés* and those from the suburbs had been dispersed, a great part of the national guards would have declared in that event, as they did in the other, for the victorious party.

Now every body seems to have the same sentiments, and hold the same language, namely, that the king was in correspondence with the emigrant princes, and betraying the country to the enemy. Certain papers have been found in the palace, which, it is said, make it very clear. On this subject I have not as yet been able to form a decided opinion; nor am I at all certain that the sentiments which I hear announced by those who have surer grounds of judging, are conformable to their real opinion: for it is by no means safe to avow any way of thinking but one.

Great pains are taking to convince the people at large of the treachery of the court, and that a proscription was made, and a massacre intended, of the most distinguished patriots, in case the court had been victorious: this is not only insinuated in the journals, but pasted up in printed papers on the walls all over Paris.

In the meantime, in the gardens of the Tuilleries, in the Place de Louis XV and Palais Royal, men are seen mounted on chairs haranguing to little circles which form around them: the continual theme of these orators, who are no doubt hired for the purpose, is the treachery of the king, and the profligacy of the queen, whom they generally distinguish by the appellation of Monsieur et Madame Veto.

When I see such artful industry to enrage the people against the king and queen, and hear of intended massacres without any proofs, so far from being convinced of the truth of what is so assiduously circulated, I rather dread that all these pains are taken to prepare the people's minds for measures which cannot yet be avowed.

The influence of theatrical entertainments on the pub-

lic mind is too powerful to be neglected on the present occasion: the music, the pantomime, and the new pieces brought forth, are all calculated to inspire sentiments and passions favourable to the second *revolution*, for the affair of the 10th is already dignified with that name.

I am much mistaken, however, if there was not a considerable risk of its terminating so as, that, instead of a revolution, it would have been called a rebellion; in which case we should have heard a very different language from the same mouths at the theatres.

August 17.

I have had a great curiosity to see the famous club of Jacobins ever since my arrival at Paris, which was not gratified till this evening, when one of the members procured me admission.

This society originated in a small number of deputies from Brittany, who occasionally met at Versailles in the year 1789. Many deputies from other provinces, the most zealous for liberty, soon joined them; and even some of the same disposition who were not deputies, were admitted into the society, which then had the name of Comité Breton.

In this society it was first proposed to constitute the majority of the estates general a national assembly.

When the national assembly was transferred to Paris, this society held its meetings in the convent of Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré, and assumed the name of Société de la Revolution, and afterwards that of Amis de la Constitution; but they are generally called simply Jacobins. A great number of the most distinguished for talents of the assembly, as well as of the citizens of Paris, were gradually elected members; and the number, I am told, has been above 1400.

The avowed business of this society is to deliberate and debate on subjects of government, and watch over the general interests of liberty.

Societies of the same name and nature are established

all over France, which hold a regular correspondence with the parent society at Paris—and, by mutually communicating information and advice, act with wonderful efficacy on important occasions.

M. Alexander Lameth and M. Duport, as I have been informed, were the first who proposed the project of establishing societies of the same kind with the Jacobins of Paris all over France, and having a regular correspondence with them.

This constant intercourse accounts for the immediate and universal approbation which has been given through all the departments to certain measures of the assembly; which must have appeared very extraordinary to foreigners, unacquainted with this constant rapid circulation of sentiment. I understand there are at least ten thousand societies of this kind in France.

Most questions of great importance are discussed in the Jacobin society of Paris, before they are introduced into the national assembly; and the success they are likely to have in the second, may be generally known by that which they have had in the first.

The hall in which the Jacobins meet, is fitted up nearly in the same style with that of the national assembly. The tribune, or pulpit from which the members speak, is opposite to that in which the president is seated: there is a table for the secretaries, and galleries for a large audience of both sexes, in the one as in the other. Men are appointed, who walk through the hall to command, or rather solicit, silence when the debate becomes turbulent at the club of Jacobins, in the same manner as the huissiers do at the national assembly, and usually with as little effect: the bell of the president, and voices of the huissiers, are equally disregarded in stormy debates at both assemblies: it is doubtful if Æolus himself, who

> Luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras
> Imperio premit,

could at once silence certain turbulent members, when

> Illi indignantes magno cum murmure——
> Circum claustra fremunt.

I have been told that some of the most distinguished members in point of talent and character have lately withdrawn from this society, and that it is not now on such a respectable footing as it has been. Robespierre, who was a member of the constituent assembly, and of course cannot be of the present, has great sway in the club of Jacobins, by which means his influence in the assembly, and in the common council of Paris, is very considerable.

M. la Fayette, in his famous letter of the 16th of June, from the camp of Maubeuge, speaking of this society, says,—'La faction Jacobine a causé tous les desordres; c'est elle que j'en accuse hautement. Organisée comme un empire à part, et aveuglément dirigée par quelques chefs ambitieux, cette secte forme une corporation distincte au milieu du peuple François, dont elle usurpe les pouvoirs, en subjuguant ses représentans et ses mandataires.' *

This letter to the national assembly, and his leaving his army and appearing in the assembly on the 28th of June, turned the tide of popularity entirely against him; and there is at present a rumour that General la Fayette is going to march his army against Paris.

There was not, properly speaking, a debate at the Jacobin's to-day, but rather a series of violent speeches against him. I understand indeed, that of late the speakers are generally of one opinion; for Robespierre's partisans raise such a noise when any one attempts to utter sentiments opposite to what he is known to maintain, that the voice of the speaker is drowned, and he is obliged to yield the tribune to another orator whose doctrine is more palatable.

The most universally agreeable motion that was made while I was present was, that a price should be set on the

* The Jacobin faction has produced all the disorders; it is that society which I loudly accuse. Organized like an empire, and blindly governed by some ambitious men, this society forms a distinct corporation in the middle of the French nation, whose power it usurps, and whose representatives it subdues.

head of M. la Fayette, and that *chaque citoyen pût courir sus;* which is as much as to say, that any body that pleased to murder him should be rewarded for so doing.

A little before the assembly broke up, one of the Marseillois, who seemed not to be an officer, mounted the tribune: he said there was a report that the commissioners from the assembly to La Fayette's army were arrested at Sedan; if so, that he and others of his countrymen intended to ask permission of the national assembly to march to Sedan, and return with the heads of those villains who had presumed to arrest their commissioners.—'Nous sommes,' continued he, 'des pauvres gens qui couchent sur la paille; mais quand il s'agit du bonheur de la patrie, nous nous montrerons des hommes du dix d'Août.' *

There were abundance of women in the galleries; but as there were none in the body of the hall where the members are seated, I was surprised to see one enter and take her seat among them: she was dressed in a kind of English riding-habit, but her jacket was the uniform of the national guards. On inquiry, I was informed that the name of this amazon is Mademoiselle Theroigne: she distinguished herself in the action of the 10th, by rallying those who fled, and attacking a second time at the head of the Marseillois.

She seems about one or two and thirty, is somewhat above the middle size of women, and has a smart martial air, which in a man would not be disagreeable.

I walked home about nine: the night was uncommonly dark; my way lay across the Carousel, along the Pont Royal, to the fauxbourg St. Germain. I have frequently come the same way alone from the Caffé de Foy in the Palais Royal after it was dark. I never was attacked, nor have I heard of a single street robbery, or housebreaking, since I have been in Paris.

This seems to me very remarkable, in the ungovernable

* We are but poor fellows, who lie upon straw; but when our country is in danger, we will display the same spirit we did on the 10th of August.

state in which Paris may be supposed to be since the 10th of this month.

The mob certainly killed on the spot several men on that day who attempted to steal the plate of the palace; they are also easily excited to assassinate any body who is pointed out to them as a Chevalier du Poignard, or a traitor to the country. Society is assuredly in a most dangerous and dreadful state, when a set of hot-headed ignorant men, assuming the prerogatives of judges and executioners, commit such excesses with impunity. But it is singular that those who carry their contempt of law and order a more criminal length than the highwayman and housebreaker, do not occasionally rob in the streets and highways also; and it must appear in a peculiar manner strange to persons accustomed to live in a country where there are frequent robberies and burglaries, in spite of the government's being undisturbed, and the laws in full force, to find none where all the hinges and supports of law and government are loose, and shaking from a recent convulsion.

August 18.

The account of the commissaries from the national assembly being arrested at Sedan, is confirmed.

M. de la Fayette having been advised by couriers from his friends at Paris, of what was intended, immediately sent directions to the magistrates of Sedan to arrest the commissaries as soon as they entered the town; he represented what had happened in Paris on the 10th, as the temporary insurrection of a mob, which would soon be quelled, and by this means prevailed on the magistrates to arrest and imprison them as impostors.

It would seem from this, however, that he is not perfectly sure of his army; otherwise he would probably have allowed the commissaries to advance to the army, and then arrested them as rebels. It depends on the army whether the general or the commissaries shall be judged rebels.

In the meantime, the national assembly have sent two new commissaries to instruct the department, to order the mayor of Sedan and fourteen of his assistant administrators to appear at the bar, and answer for their conduct; and the assembly declare all who shall oppose these orders infamous, and traitors to the country, and decree that all the citizens of Sedan shall be responsible on their lives for the safety of their commissaries.

A deputation from the battalion of Marseilles came to the bar this day, and made the same offer which they announced last night at the Jacobins, namely, to bring the heads of the magistrates of Sedan on pikes to their bar.

They were thanked by the president for their generous offer; but were told at the same time, that the assembly preferred seeing the magistrates in the usual form with their heads on their shoulders.

A price is put on the head of M. la Fayette; and, according to the ancient phrase, chaque citoyen peut courir sus.

Decrees of accusation are made against Barnave, Alex. Lameth, and others, who, although now considered as traitors, were thought patriots formerly.

There is often as little candour among zealots in polilitics, as those in religion. He whose religious creed or ideas of freedom keep the hundredth part of a degree beneath theirs, is considered with as much horror and contempt as the avowed atheist or most slavish courtier.

August 19.

They talk of forming a fortified camp for 40,000 men near Paris, including Mont Martre, and all that side of the city which lies next to St. Denis; which looks as if they began to dread the approach of the Germans.

I saw no signs of this however at the Champs Elisées, through which I drove this evening.

All those extensive fields were crowded with company

of one sort or other; an immense number of small booths were erected, where refreshments were sold, and which resounded with music and singing. Pantomimes and puppet-shows of various kinds are here exhibited, and in some parts they were dancing in the open fields. 'Are these people as happy as they seem?' said I, to a Frenchman who was with me. 'Ils sont heureux comme des dieux, monsieur,'* replied he.

'Do you think the duke of Brunswick never enters their thoughts?' said I. 'Soyez sûr, monsieur,' resumed he, 'que Brunswick est précisément l'homme du monde au quel ils pensent le moins.' †

One fellow, on a kind of stage, had a monkey who played a thousand tricks. When the man called him aristocrate, the monkey flew at his throat with every mark of rage; but when he called him un bon patriote, the monkey expressed satisfaction, and caressed his master.

I see a great many monkeys every day, who affect to be bons patriotes.

One has no great objection to those patriots who dance about like monkeys; but they who to the airs of the monkey join the disposition of tigers, and dance with heads upon pikes, are horrible.

A petition was read to the assembly, in which, with others of the same stamp, was this affected and inhuman expression,—'Que toute communication entre Louis XVI et son épouse cesse. La France sera sauvée lorsque cette medicis ne soufflera plus ses fureurs dans l'ame du nouveau Charles IX.' ‡

They must surely have the hearts of tigers who could

* They are as happy as the gods.

† Depend upon it, sir, that Brunswick is the man on earth of whom they think the least.

‡ Let all communication between Lewis XVI and his wife be put an end to. France will be saved when that Medicis shall no longer have it in her power to inspire her fury into the soul of this new Charles IX.

suggest such an useless piece of cruelty, and come parading with it to the bar of the national assembly.

There is not, besides, the least resemblance between the yielding disposition of Lewis XVI and the stern ferocity of Charles IX; and the queen of France was never before accused, even by her greatest enemies, of the dissimulation, treachery, and cruelty of Catherine of Medicis.

August 20.

I was several hours this day at the national assembly. Brissot and Lasource, and many others, spoke. I was not surprised at the eloquence and ingenuity of their discourses, because I had read some of the writings of the former; and had heard of the talents of both; but I was surprised at the number of speakers, and that all delivered themselves with facility.

In point of ingenuity, learning, and strength of reasoning, there is perhaps as much difference between the speakers of the national assembly, as there is between those of the house of commons; but in facility of utterance and flow of words, all the speakers in the former are nearer on an equality.

I have not seen among them any of that hesitation and perplexity of expression which is sometimes observed in the house of commons; yet one might imagine that young members, and all who are unaccustomed to speak in public, would feel themselves more embarrassed in speaking from a lofty conspicuous place, such as the tribune of the national assembly, than speaking in their place, as is done in the house of commons.

I have not heard one speaker from the tribune who wanted either words or courage in pronouncing them. As for mauvaise honte, there is no such thing in this country: I wonder how they came by the expression.

The British ambassador informed me to-day that he was recalled.

The princess Lamballe, Madame de Tourzelle, Mad-

moiselle Pauline de Tourzelle, and some other attendants on the king and queen, were carried from the Temple to what is called La Maison Commune, and there interrogated respecting certain secret correspondences they are accused of having carried on. And after this examination they were carried to a prison named *Hotel de la Force*, instead of being conducted back to the Temple.

How shocking to treat persons of their rank and sex with such indignity and cruelty, whose greatest crime seems to be attachment to their benefactors! If it were even proved that they had endeavoured to carry on the correspondence with which they are charged, this could not excuse such treatment. In times like these, the passions of hatred and revenge burn with augmented violence; and when in addition, they are excited by conscious guilt and personal fear, they carry men to the height of wickedness.

I have been told that some persons of horrid dispositions have been lately added to the acting committee of the commune de Paris.

August 21.

I advised Lord Lauderdale to leave Paris and go to Spa; but it is difficult at this time to obtain passports: they have been refused to many strangers, who for some time past have found Paris a disagreeable residence, and thought it would become more so, as the German armies, who have already entered France, were advancing to the capital. British subjects in particular are about to lose one great inducement to remain, by the expected departure of Lord Gower and Lady Sutherland.

Before we left England, it had been suggested, that, at such a period, we might meet with the difficulty we now experienced. Lord Lauderdale therefore had accepted of a letter from M. Chauvelin to the mayor of Paris, the import of which was, desiring him to facilitate our proposed journey to the south, in case of any difficulty or obstruction.

This letter had been left at the house of the mayor; but the confusions which took place immediately after our arrival, prevented our having seen him. It was imagined that through his influence we might obtain passports. An acquaintance of M. Petion offering to conduct us to the Maison de Ville, we determined to make the trial.

When we arrived at the outer gate, and told our business was with the mayor, we were admitted. There was a body of about fifty men under arms at this time before the gate. The Maison de Ville had more the appearance of the head quarters of the general of an army, than the residence of a mayor. One of the national guards took hold of my cane, asking if there was a concealed weapon in it. I presented it, and said there was not. An Englishman, who was in the uniform of the national guards, addressed me in his native language. I told him we had brought a letter from M. Chauvelin to the mayor, and wished to see him.

What this man's name is I know not; he seemed to have some authority among them, for he immediately conducted us up stairs, and through some rooms, into a large hall, where there were ten or a dozen soldiers with their arms, besides officers and others, who I suppose were waiting to speak to M. Petion. When the Englishman had sent in our names by a servant who attended for that purpose, he left us, and I never saw him afterwards.

While we waited in this hall, a corporal came, and asked if we had received any order or ticket for admission to the place where we were; for without these nobody who did not belong to the guard ought to remain. We informed him of our business, and that we were English; on which he desired us to stay, saying, the mayor would wait on us directly. Many people in municipal scarfs, or officers uniforms, passed and repassed. We were at length introduced.

M. Petion is a well-looking fair man, of a genteel address and cheerful countenance, with an habitual smile. He made an apology for not having come sooner, saying,

he had been detained by business which did not admit of an instant's delay. On telling him we wished for passports to Spa, by Givet, he said, that, at that particular time, no passports were granted by that route; at any rate he would not advise us to take it, because we might run a risk of being pillaged by the Hulans, or other irregular troops of the Austrian army; adding, that we might soon have passports for England.

We hinted an inclination to reside for a short time in some province of France, if we might remain there with safety, and could not go directly to Spa; but that it was necessary to have passports before we could be allowed to go out of Paris. M. Petion said, he was convinced that restraint would continue only a few days, but that Paris was by much the safest place of France we could be in; for that in the provinces alarms might be spread, and disturbances arise, while the enemy were in the country, but at Paris there would always be a sufficient force to keep all quiet.

On being asked if there were any news from the frontiers?

He answered with a careless air, that he understood that Brunswick had entered France. He may advance twenty, or perhaps thirty leagues. Well, continued he, the farther he advances, the greater will be the loss of his army; and if they continue to advance much farther, they will be entirely surrounded, and few of them will ever get back. The Prussians, added he, relied on a conspiracy here in their favour: the 10th of August put an end to that hope, and they will soon be bewildered, and not know how to proceed.

I heard him with a great deal of attention, but very little faith in his prediction, and soon after we took our leave.

August 22.

Accounts are arrived that M. la Fayette, finding no

disposition in his army to adhere to him, but, on the contrary, that many of the officers, and almost all the soldiers, were for supporting the decrees of the national assembly, has retired from his army with a part of his principal officers, and is supposed to have gone to Holland in his way to England.

M. Kersaint and the other commissaries, who were imprisoned at Sedan, are now set at liberty, with many apologies from the commune for the treatment they had received; which they impute to the misrepresentation of La Fayette, on whom they transfer the name of traitor, which they had before bestowed on Kersaint, who, with his companions, is now with the army, where they have been received with acclamations of joy.

This is not precisely the issue I expected when I first heard of the commissaries being sent, and still less what I thought probable on hearing of their imprisonment.

Nothing now is heard of but addresses from all parts of France to the assembly, congratulating them on what they call the glorious victory of the 10th of August, and highly approving of the suspension of the king.

This however does not prevent us from wishing to have it in our power to remove from Paris when we think it expedient; a wish which is rather increased by my having heard it repeatedly asserted by some of my French acquaintance, that it is generally believed that many agents from the court of Great Britain are now in Paris, whose errand is to promote confusion, and excite that spirit of jealousy and sedition which already exists so much all over France.

On my laughing at this idea, a very sensible man, who was a member of the constituent assembly, and will probably be of the convention, if that should ever take place, declared that he was convinced of the fact, and asked how the great number of guineas now in circulation at Paris could be otherwise accounted for?

I answered, that I knew nothing of the circulation of

guineas; but I had always understood that our administration had too great a demand for them at home, to think of sending them abroad. At any rate I was persuaded they would not stoop to such a manœuvre, which was as unjustifiable as it would be for the executive power of France to smuggle over men to England, for the purpose of exciting seditious insurrections against the British government.

He allowed that it would be just as bad in the one as in the other; and repeated his persuasion, that it had been done by England but not by France.

As I was entirely convinced that he was in an error, I took a good of pains to remove it, but without success: and I mention it as a very strong instance of the power of prejudice over a very acute and enlightened mind.

However groundless this notion is, its prevailing among the mob of Paris may be attended with disagreeable consequences to the English here, at a time when government is so feeble; and when, notwithstanding the prudent conduct of the British ambassador, his being recalled is a sufficient mark of the disapprobation of his court of the late measures.

I determined to call on M. Claviere, the ministre des contributions, for whom I had a letter from M. Durouverie, and try whether, by his influence, we might not get passports to leave Paris. His porter informed me last night, that he saw people on business from six in the morning till nine. I called at his hotel this morning at eight, and was conducted into a room where several people were waiting. My name was taken down in writing, as those of all present had previously been, and carried to the minister. I was called in my turn; and after I had informed him of my business, he wrote a letter to M. le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs, whose business it is to give passports, recommending it to him to provide Lord Lauderdale and me with them, as soon as the present interdiction was removed.

M. Claviere then said, 'that the affair of the 10th, he

understood, had been greatly misrepresented in England, but that all Europe would be soon convinced that all the blood shed on that day was owing to the treachery of the court; that France had determined to be free, and would not suffer any thing within its own bosom to undermine or counteract that freedom; that small states, such as Geneva, and even Holland, were sometimes obliged to suffer controul from their neighbours, with respect to their own internal government; but that a powerful nation like France could not be dictated to; and that whatever form of government the French should think proper by their representatives to choose, they were able to maintain; and it was not in the power of all the Austrians, Prussians, and Russians on earth to prevent it.'

Several new battalions, which are called chasseurs nationaux, have been raised lately. I was in the national assembly when a deputation from them appeared at the bar: one spoke in the name of the rest. The object of his discourse was, to express the regret of his companions, and his own, at being so long detained in Paris, where they lived a life of idleness, while their wishes were to hasten to the frontiers, that they might repel the enemies of their country, or perish in the attempt. They all earnestly requested the assembly to issue immediate orders agreeable to their ardent wishes.

This speech was pronounced with grace, and heard with applause. The young orator and his companions were invited to the honneur de la séance, and about forty of them marched through the hall to their seats. Their uniform is blue jackets, with green epaulets, buff-coloured waists, and tight trowsers of the same cloth, and short boots, with very well contrived smart helmets. They were in general from about eighteen to twenty-four years of age, all very fine looking young men, and all, I am convinced, full of martial ardour: their appearance however approached nearer to Homer's description of Paris, than of Hector's going to battle. I do not know what figure they will make in the eyes of the Prussians, but they

made a very brilliant one in the assembly hall. I thought the ladies in the galleries would never have done with their applause.

August 22.

Nothing is more difficult than the discovery of truth regarding recent events of an important and complicated nature, which many people are interested in falsifying, and almost every body inclined to represent according to their own prejudices.

I have experienced this strongly in my inquiries concerning the incidents which occurred on the 10th of August, and the circumstances which led to the catastrophe of that day.

Every thing is viewed through such different mediums, and from such opposite points, that the various accounts which pour in from all quarters, cross, jostle, and confound each other in such a manner, that I have on some occasions been tempted to suspect, that as my information increased my knowledge diminished.

I have sometimes had reason to imagine that all this happened in consequence of a preconcerted and well-executed plan, the authors and conductors of which have been also mentioned to me.

On farther inquiry, I have been assured that there was no well-digested design on either side; that a vast thoughtless mass of populace had been put in motion by a set of needy adventurers, who, without any precise object, wished for a new storm, in which they might be gainers, but had nothing to lose; that it was for some time doubtful whether the insurrection would terminate against or in favour of the court; that there was a very considerable chance of its ending, like that of the 20th of June, in mere parade, drunkenness, and noise; in which case it would have tended to the increase of the king's authority, by rendering men more averse to the disgusting power of a rabble.

I have been told by others, whose authority is more re-

spectable, that the plan was to seize on the person of the king, carry him directly to the castle of Vincennes, and there confine him till a national convention should decide on his fate, and the future form of government. This it is believed was the plan of the republican party, and that it was prevented from being literally executed, by the resolution which his majesty took of going to the national assembly, which the formers of this plan had not taken into their calculation.

It could not escape their reflection, however, that in attempting to seize on his person and carry him to Vincennes, he might very possibly be killed.

Whatever the secret wishes of particular persons in the court might be, and whatever their connections with the enemies of France, it seems evident that on the 10th of August the king's schemes were entirely of a defensive nature.

Some people think, however, that in the disposition in which a great part of the national guards were, and with the force assembled in the Tuilleries, if they had been directed with ability, and the first advantage followed up with energy, the *fédérés* and the rabble from the suburbs would have been completely dispersed, the best part of the citizens would have declared for the king, and there can be little doubt of all the armies on the frontiers following their example. To accuse him of being the aggressor on that day is ridiculous.

The following particulars, respecting the transactions of the 10th of August, I began to insert in my journal this day; and although I came to the knowledge of them at various times, some of them at later periods, as appears in the original journal, I have thought proper to put them altogether under this date.

The motion made by M. Vaublanc before I left the assembly on the 9th, and which I thought would have passed, namely, that the *fédérés* should be ordered to remove from Paris, although it was frequently renewed by him and others, was always postponed and never decreed.

The assembly continued sitting all the night of the 9th; but for some part of the time there was not the legal number to make a decree, namely, two hundred.

Petion the mayor was in the palace till two or three o'clock of the morning of the 10th. He had been with the king to give an account of the state of Paris, but remained in the palace or on the terrace after leaving his majesty; which gave occasion for spreading a report among the citizens, that he was kept there against his will, as a pledge for the safety of the king; and it was even asserted in the assembly, that he was retained by force in the palace: but that was refuted by one of the members declaring he had seen him a few minutes before walking on the terrace of the Feuillans with another municipal officer; they had both come out of the palace for a little fresh air, and were about to return to it, when this member spoke to them, and Petion told him that he intended to remain there till the public tranquillity was re-established.

Notwithstanding this assurance, as suspicions of his danger were insinuated, it was thought proper to send a message to the palace for the mayor, which was accordingly done, and he directly came to their bar.

This is a satisfactory proof that Petion was under no controul from the king; and, in my opinion, it forms a presumption that the mayor was not privy to any plot against the life of the king, or even of any intention to seize his person and carry him to Vincennes; for he could not imagine that either the one or the other could be accomplished without a contest, in which it must have occurred to Petion that he would have been sacrificed, and therefore he would have taken care not to be present.

It is said by some that he went as a spy to examine what force there was in the Tuilleries, and consider in what parts the castle might be attacked with the most advantage; also to mark who were the leaders, that he might afterwards be their accuser.

This, however, would have been a service of great dan-

ger, and as unnecessary as dangerous; a hundred other people were better qualified than Petion to have given this information.

On his arrival at the palace that night, he went directly and made his report to the king; all the time he remained afterwards, he was under the eye of the Swiss, and of gentlemen attached to his majesty.

There is reason to imagine that Petion, having had some hint of a measure intended to be taken at the town-house, and not approving of every part of it, chose rather to be at the palace than there during that transaction. Soon after his going from the palace to the national assembly, he was consigned to his own house under a guard, by the council-general of the commune de Paris, that he might not seem to have any part in transactions which were of a nature more violent and decisive than was agreeable to his character.

The measure here alluded to was as follows.—While the tocsin was sounding, the general beating, and the citizens of course under arms at the alarm posts, a few of each section, under the pretext that the present common council of the city of Paris had lost the confidence of the people, assembled and elected new members for that council, in the room of the former, to the number of near two hundred.

Those new chosen counsellors went directly to the hall where the council-general of the community assemble, declared themselves the real council, drove out all the others, except Petion, Manuel, and Danton, and then began the exercise of their functions in a more rigorous manner than ever was known before.

Mandat, the commander in chief of the national guards, is now represented as a traitor, whose design was to massacre the people. But I understand from those who have been long acquainted with him, that he was an honest man, though of no extensive capacity; and of his treason I have heard no other proof than that he thought it his duty to oppose the entrance of the multitude into the

king's palace, in case they should attempt to force their way; and that he had encouraged those under his command to adhere to the constitution, and defend the royal family from violence. Mandat had also taken a prudent step in placing a party of the national guards on the Pont Neuf with some cannon, on purpose to cut off the communication between those who were assembling in the different suburbs of the opposite sides of the river.

The new council-general saw the detriment that this post was of to their designs; they therefore sent some of their body with the scarfs of the municipal officers, to order the guard to be removed from the bridge, and a free intercourse to be opened between the insurgents on each side of the Seine.

The ancient council were of the same sentiments with Mandat. He had therefore given no direction to the officer who commanded at this post, not to obey any order which came from them; such an idea could not naturally occur to him, for neither he nor the officer knew that the original council was dissolved, and that a new one had usurped their authority; this officer therefore obeyed what he thought a legal power, and removed his guard.

The new council about the same time sent a message to Mandat to come to the town-house, on pretence that they had something of importance to communicate to him regarding the public safety. Mandat did not immediately go; he was at the Tuilleries with a large body of national guards when he received this message, and fresh parties of the national guards were arriving every minute to put themselves under his command, and he was assigning them their posts.

A second message, more pressing than the first, came to him while he was thus employed.—He then thought he could delay no longer—he left the palace about four, and hastened to the town-house. It is said, that he had an order in his pocket, signed by Petion, authorizing him to repel force by force, in case the populace attempted to

force their way into the palace. The council wished to get possession of this order.

On his entering the hall where the council were met, he was surprised to see a very different assembly from what he expected. They accused him of a design to attack and slaughter the people during their intended march from the suburbs to the palace, and of having made arrangements for that purpose.

The man was equally confounded at what he saw, and what he heard.

After a short examination, he was desired to withdraw; but as he arrived at the top of the stair, he was shot through the head with a pistol, and at the same instant thrust through the body.

The council then appointed Santerre commander in chief of the national guards. This Santerre was originally a brewer, and carried on a great trade in the suburbs of St. Antoine, where he gave employment to a very considerable number of men. As his manners and conversation were on a level with those he employed, it is not surprising that he was popular, and had influence in that neighbourhood. How a person in his situation, and with his manners, came to attract the attention of the duke of Orleans, is not so obvious.

I am assured, however, that the duke did honour M. Santerre with his acquaintance, and had him occasionally at his convivial parties, previous to his being honoured with the command of the national guard.

The council assumed the whole authority, and sent orders wherever it was thought necessary, which were generally obeyed.

The officer who had been appointed by Mandat to guard the arsenal, was ordered by the council to repair with the men under his command to the suburbs of St. Antoine. A number of muskets from the arsenal were distributed among the people; and the guard, whose duty it was to have prevented this, marched at the head of those people against the Tuilleries.

That a body of men elected at midnight, in the midst of confusion and alarm, should be able to annihilate an established council, usurp all the executive authority, and find itself instantly and universally obeyed, will seem very extraordinary.

It is not to be imagined, however, that this originated in an instantaneous resolution of the various sections of Paris: all had been arranged by a junto of men, of which Danton was supposed to be a leading member, and of whom the electors of the sections were the tools. The new deputies, who had been recommended by the junto, found little difficulty in dismissing the old; for, beside their being of bolder characters than their predecessors, it is natural for attackers to act with more spirit than those who defend, especially if the attack is made when it is not expected. And it is equally true, that, in critical times, men are apt to shrink from responsible situations. Many members of the old commune, therefore, might not be displeased with the usurpation.

Whatever may be thought of this measure in other respects, it must be allowed to have had a decisive influence on the events of that night.

Previous to this, many circumstances appeared favourable to the king. There were about fifteen hundred gentlemen, officers, and others of various ranks within the palace, all attached to the king, and ready to die in his defence, and that of the royal family; there were a thousand Swiss in the barracks of the Carousel, and about half that number of the national guards, who usually did duty with them at the Tuilleries; and before Mandat received the summons to the town-house, between two and three thousand of the national guards had arrived by his orders in different detachments at the Tuilleries; formerly they had done duty by battalions, but by a late decree of the national assembly, they were directed to do duty by detachments from all the various battalions. If the former method had continued, Mandat would have chosen those battalions which were known to be best affected to the

king for this night's service: which would have been a very great advantage, as some battalions, particularly those of the sections of Petits Peres and Filles St. Thomas were entirely so. This being out of his power, and he ordering a detachment equal to three battalions, some of the disaffected must have been among them, and there was danger that a few so inclined might corrupt many; however, these detachments, by coming early, manifested a desire of obeying their commander, and protecting the royal family.

Those various detachments brought with them twelve pieces of cannon, which were placed around the palace in the manner thought most advantageous for repelling an attack. Two were placed with a strong party at the Pont-tournant, which is at the distance of the whole length of the gardens from the palace, fronting the grand alley of the first, and the principal gate of the second. This bridge is over a kind of fossé, which separates the gardens of the Tuilleries from the spacious Place de Louis XV.

Of all these troops the cannoniers were the most suspected of being unfavourably disposed to the king.

Beside the troops above enumerated, there was a body of a thousand cavalry, called Gendarmerie à Cheval, all under arms, and posted in various places, under different commanders, all attached to the king.

Another circumstance in favour of his majesty was that degree of indignation pretty generally felt by the inhabitants of Paris, exclusive of those of three of the suburbs, for the enormities that were committed on the 20th of June. When to these it is added, that the majority of the national assembly certainly disapproved of the disorderly and alarming measures to which the multitude were prompted, and wished them checked, we must conclude, that with more unanimity, firmness, and decision among those who directed the council within the palace, the design of the original schemers of the insurrection would have been baffled: the event would have been different, perhaps the very reverse of what happened.

The most sincere friends of freedom must have been fatigued and alarmed by those repeated disorders, and willing to seize that opportunity of extending the power of the king, so far as is necessary to prevent them for the future.

As for the king himself, I am inclined to believe, from his mild and unambitious character, from his conduct since the commencement of his reign, from his piety, and from all I have heard from cool and candid authority since I came here, that it was his desire and determination to be faithful to the constitution, provided the constitution was allowed to be faithful to him; and that he desired no other alteration than such as could secure the prerogatives which the constitution allowed him.

That he ever entered into any engagement, or assisted any project for the restoration of the old government, is what I have found no satisfactory proof of.

Whatever plans may have been formed by the king and his council for the defence of the Tuilleries, the repelling the assailants, and for the measures to be pursued on their being dispersed, all were rendered ineffectual by the illegal and wicked, but decisive measure of appointing a new council at the town-house, murdering the commander of the national guards, and by that council usurping the whole power of the state.

Before Mandat left the Tuilleries and went to the town-house, as he designed to return immediately, he left no particular orders. The various detachments of national guards which at his requisition were assembled around the palace, and in its different courts, were long in impatient expectation of seeing him: in his absence they knew not whom to obey, or how to act in the different emergencies which occurred.

About six o'clock in the morning, the king, who had not gone to bed the preceding night, descended into the courts of the palace to review the Swiss and national guards. He was accompanied by some persons of rank, and officers of distinction. The Swiss began the cry of

Vive le Roi! as soon as he appeared, and the national guards repeated it; but all the cannoniers cried, Vive la Nation! which not being accompanied with the other, was a sign of disapprobation.

From the courts the king went into the gardens, and reviewed the troops there, and on the terrace of the Tuileries; he afterwards walked all the way to the post of the Pont-tournant. On his return to the palace he understood that some bodies of national guards, just arrived, seemed to have caught the disposition of the cannoniers; they shouted, Vive la Nation! and some of them cried, Vive Petion!

The detachments which had assembled early by orders of Mandat were disturbed at this, and at hearing nothing of their commander; some of them began to change their original dispositions, through the insinuations and example of the cannoniers.

In the meantime an immense multitude, headed by the *fédérés*, were advancing from the suburbs of St. Antoine: every street and alley which led to the palace was crowded by rabble, and by parties of a kind of irregular national guards, some armed with fusils, and some with pikes, who came from every quarter of Paris, without knowing what was intended, or how they themselves were to act, and who were ready to cry, Vive le Roi! or Vive la Nation! according to the humour of the street through which they passed, and the turn which things might take.

The gendarmerie à cheval, who were drawn up in an opening near the Carousel, were gradually shoved off their ground by the still augmenting multitude, and removed to the Place du Palais Royal, from whence also they were soon obliged to shift their ground. To allow cavalry to be thus pressed upon, and all their movements impeded, was rendering them useless, and exposing them to be infected, partly through fear and partly by example, with the spirit of the crowd which surrounded them; which accordingly happened: for although they seemed in the morning determined to do their duty by defending the

palace and royal family, and under proper management would probably have done so; yet being from the mere pressure of the crowd forced from one place to another, and in obedience to that crowd obliged to cry Vive la Nation! as they rode through the streets, they gradually lost their original intention; and afterwards, when they saw the Swiss give way and flying through the Place of Lewis XV, and the plain called the Elysian Fields, great part of this body of cavalry abandoned their officers, and attacked and cut down the unhappy fugitives, the very men whom that same morning they had considered as their friends, and engaged in the same cause with themselves.

The gendarmerie à cheval were not the only part of the national guards who acted in this manner; and it was pretty evident, a considerable time before the attack, that those who were placed in the garden and the courts of the palace were no longer to be depended on.

The whole body of Swiss, however, a party of national grenadiers, and all the officers, gentlemen, and others who were within the palace and immediately about the king's person, remained unshaken, and ready to sacrifice themselves in his defence and in that of his family.

After the king's return from the gardens, some arrangements were made for the defence of the palace; parties were placed at different posts, and under the command of particular leaders. Among those leaders were men who had, in the course of their lives, enjoyed high commands.

Of all belonging to the royal family, the prince and princess royal only had gone to bed; the queen's anxiety on their account had made her insist on this the preceding night; the same anxiety prompted her to have them awaked early in the morning, as she saw danger approaching. The sight of her children was besides a cordial which her heart needed at a time so depressing and afflictive. I am assured that she behaved with great firmness on this very trying occasion; that she spoke in an en-

couraging manner to the guards, praising their loyalty and attachment to the royal family.

Nothing can be imagined more affecting than the condition of this unfortunate princess. Who could behold, without the most sympathetic emotion, a queen of France, the sister of emperors, in the presence of her husband and children, imploring the protection of a small band of gentlemen and a few grenadiers?

Philosophy may demonstrate that a woman in a far inferior walk of life, when her husband, her children, and herself, are in the same danger, and who has as much, or perhaps more, happiness to lose in losing them, ought to command our sympathy in an equal, if not a superior degree.

After philosophy has demonstrated this, even those who admit the demonstration will still enter more warmly into the distress of the queen, than into that of the woman in an inferior walk of life.

It may be repeated, that the latter is as worthy and as amiable as the former; that she loves her husband and her children, and is beloved by them as much; that in her more humble sphere she enjoyed more happiness, and therefore in reality is in danger of suffering a greater loss than the other can. When the voice of philosophy has repeated all this, what does the human heart answer?

Without disputing about what *ought* to be, but avowing honestly what *is*, the human heart, faithful to its first impressions, or prejudices if you please, will answer—I take a stronger interest in the distresses of the queen.

A little after seven o'clock, M. Rhœderer, with other officers of the department, entered the room where the king was, and declared, 'that the palace was surrounded by an irresistible number of armed men; that the national guards who had come early in the morning were corrupted, and more ready to assist than oppose the assail-

ants; that the king, queen, their children, and attendants, were on the point of being slaughtered; and that there were no other means of safety left for them, but immediately to put themselves under the protection of the national assembly.'

This was a most humiliating measure, particularly in the eyes of the queen, who, on hearing this idea once insinuated before, had said that she would be rather nailed to the walls of the palace, and still shewed the greatest aversion to going; but on its being urged that there was no other refuge for the king and her children, and that even this would be lost if not taken immediately—heaving a profound sigh, she said, 'It is the last sacrifice, let it be made!'

The same motive of tenderness for her children which determined the queen, prevented the king from hesitating longer. The whole royal family set out immediately, accompanied by a detachment of Swiss and of the national guards on duty within the palace. Those troops formed a lane along the terrace of the Feuillans, through which the royal family and their attendants walked to the hall of the national assembly.

It is infinitely to be regretted that the king, before he quitted the palace, did not direct those who remained within it, immediately to capitulate with the leaders of the insurgents, and throw the gates open to the people: this would have saved the lives of many gallant men, which, however expedient it might have been to risk in defence of the king and royal family, ought not to have been exposed for the preservation of the walls and furniture of a palace.

This is to be imputed to the concern and agitation of the king's mind at a time so critical and alarming: for I give no weight to the assertion of those who pretend that he took this step for the sake of having a double chance in his favour, that if the assailants were repulsed, he might be carried victorious to the palace; and if the re-

verse happened, he might still remain in safety at the assembly.

Such an interpretation of this unhappy prince's conduct is not surprising, at a time when his most indifferent and even laudable actions are perverted into crimes, by the unrelenting rancour of his enemies.

Sometime before the king reviewed the troops in the courts and gardens of the Tuilleries, M. Dejoly, minister of justice, had gone to the assembly, and informed them of the king's having heard that uneasiness had been expressed respecting the personal safety of Petion: 'His majesty therefore assured the assembly, that he had been glad to see the mayor of Paris in the palace; that he had ordered him to be treated with all proper attention while he remained, and allowed him to depart the moment the assembly had sent for him. But his majesty understanding that there were still great multitudes assembled in some of the suburbs, and that they spoke of marching to the palace and to the hall of the assembly, he recommended it to the representatives of the people, to consider of measures to prevent the ill consequences which might attend such a step.'

One member observed on this, that there were laws existing against disorderly assemblies of the people, and it was the business of the executive power to put them in execution.

Accordingly no measures for the king's safety were adopted by the assembly; nor was any other notice taken of the message, than that conveyed in the crabbed observation just mentioned.

Osselin, a municipal officer, came to the assembly to give an account of the state of Paris. He said, that at the section of Quinzevingts he had found a great confluence of people; that it was with difficulty he could get into the hall where the president was; that they were occupied in making very violent motions; the following among others.—That if the national assembly had not de-

creed the *dechéance* by eleven o'clock at night, the toscin should be sounded. Osselin said, he had remonstrated against so violent a resolution; that it would be affrontive even to a country justice to dictate a particular judgment, and exact that he should pronounce it by a precise hour.

He proceeded to inform the assembly of what he had observed at other sections; that he had met a drummer beating the general, and had gone to the guard-room and required of the officer to order him to stop: which the officer refused to do, saying, that what was done was by authority of Mandat. Osselin accused Mandat of being the cause of all the alarm in which Páris was, by ordering the general to be beat, by placing cannon at different posts, and by giving directions, when the people should move with the petition to the Tuilleries, to attack them in front and rear, and disperse them at all events.

Osselin added, that after his course through the sections, he had returned to the town-house, where he saw Mandat arrive, who pretended he had received orders from Petion, which would justify all the measures he had taken; but that he had not shewn any such orders.

A member of the assembly observed, that the mayor himself had acknowledged that he had ordered the commander of the national guards to double the number at every post, and to beat the retreat; and that, in fact, he understood that it was the retreat which was beaten.

While they were disputing on this difference in the account, M. Dejoly returned to the assembly, and said, As the disorders of the capital were every moment assuming a more alarming aspect, he imagined it would be proper to send a deputation of their members to be near the person of the king, as had been done on the 20th of June.

This was opposed by some; one of the members said, that on the occasion alluded to, that *generous* measure of the assembly had not prevented a perfidious and calumniating proclamation, by the king's authority, from appearing the following day.

Those who opposed so natural and so just a proposal, may be suspected of knowing of some violent measure being intended against the king, which they were unwilling to prevent.

Others however observed, that when one of the supreme powers of the constitution was threatened, the other ought to defend that which was in danger; therefore, as the king was threatened, it was the duty of the assembly to fly to his assistance.

It was likewise proposed to invite the king to come to the assembly, as a place of greater safety than the palace.

While this was debating, a serjeant of the national guard suddenly entered the hall, with evident marks of terror on his countenance. He declared that he had just seen a battalion of Marseillois marching to the Tuilleries; that they had pointed their cannon against the palace. 'I believe,' continued he, 'that the king is in danger of being assassinated.' This man's emotion was so great, that he could hardly pronounce the last word.

In the meantime, some members of the council-general, whose power had been usurped in the manner already mentioned, entered, and gave an account of that singular transaction.

It was directly moved by some of the deputies, to pass a decree against the usurpation, and restore the original council.

This was opposed by other deputies, some of whom no doubt had promoted the hasty nomination made by the sections, and approved of all that had been done by the new council.

One member, observing that there was no likelihood of their coming soon to an agreement on that head, renewed the motion for sending a deputation to the palace, putting them in mind of the danger in which the king was.

To this another sullenly replied, that his constituents had not named him to the national assembly to be sent on deputations, but to serve the public; he would there-

fore remain in the assembly, which was his post, and die, if necessary, in the service of his country.

M. Emmery said, that he was as ready to die in the service of his country as any one; but he also thought it his duty to do every thing in his power to preserve the life of the king, and the royal family, which he feared were in danger; and therefore moved, that a deputation should be instantly sent to the palace to protect the person of his majesty, and accompany him and his family to the hall of the assembly, if they chose to come.

When this was about to be decreed, it was announced, that the king and royal family were on their way from the palace to the assembly. This threw the assembly into great agitation, and some of the members seemed apprehensive for the king's safety.

According to an article of the constitution, 'as often as the king goes to the legislative assembly, he ought to be received, and reconducted to the palace, by a deputation.'

In the confusion of the present occasion, the president probably did not recollect this; but a number of the members of themselves went out to receive the king; and soon after, the king, queen, the princess royal, and the princess Elizabeth, entered the hall of the assembly, a grenadier walking before with the prince royal in his arms, whom he placed on the table of the secretaries.

The king took his seat at the side of the president, and addressed the assembly in the words already mentioned.

The queen, and the rest of the royal family, placed themselves on the bench appointed for the ministers, three ladies of the court attending them.

After the king had spoken, and the president had answered, a short debate of a singular nature took place.

It was observed by a member, that 'the assembly could not proceed to business in the present situation; that the more critical the state of affairs was, the more strictly ought they to observe the forms of the constitution. The words of the 8th article of the 4th section in

the chapter on the exercise of the legislative power, are, *Le corps législatif cessera d'être corps délibérant, tant que le roi sera présent.**

He moved, therefore, that the king should be desired to place himself at the bar, adding, that he hoped the people would offer no violence to his person.

Cambon said, it would be more decent to place the king in the tribune, which the president had at his disposal.

Since, said another, the presence of the king arrests all our proceedings; and since, whether he remains at the side of the president, or goes to the seat at the extremity of the hall, he is equally under the protection of the representatives of the people; I move, that he be desired to take his seat at one of the extremities of the hall.†

At that instant the king whispered the president, who, addressing the assembly, said, that the king, of himself, desired to go to one of the ends of the hall.

If the king or his family wish to retire, said Cambon, they ought to have it in their power. The seats at the extremity of the hall are not proper for them; the bar is still less so; the place assigned by the constitution for the king, as chief of the executive power, is at the side of the president; he cannot be seated at the bar.

To this a member replied, that, although the king was chief of the executive power, he was still a citizen; and therefore, like other citizens, he might sit at the bar, in which case he will not be within the limits of the assembly, and we may debate with freedom.

The king on hearing this came directly down from his seat, and placed himself with his family on the benches destined for the ministers.

But it was observed, that he was still within the assembly, and, according to the constitution, it would be

* The legislative body shall cease to be a deliberative body as long as the king is present.

† There are places at each end of the hall, behind the benches for the members, and where strangers are admitted to sit.

impossible for the assembly to do business. It was therefore moved, that the king should go into the box which has already been described. His majesty and all the royal family, with some of their attendants, went accordingly and placed themselves within that box.

After which M. Rhœderer, (procureur of the department), who had come with the king, and had remained ever since at the bar, gave an account of many of the events above mentioned; only, as he did not know of the death of Mandat, but thought him under arrest at the town-house, he said nothing of him, but declared, that a vast multitude of people being assembled in the Carousel, and cannon being pointed against the palace, some of the populace had knocked with violence at one gate; on which he, with two municipal officers, had spoken to them. They said they had a petition, and must speak to the king. M. Rhœderer answered, that the whole could not enter; but he offered to admit a deputation of twenty of their number, who should be safely conducted to present their petition to the king; and that they had retired to confer with their leaders on this proposal.

M. Rhœderer continued to narrate that he had, after this, spoken to the national guards within the area of the court, and told them, that, although they were there to preserve the peace, yet the law allowed them, in case of their being attacked, to repel force by force, and that they seemed disposed to do their duty; but, on his speaking the same language to the cannoniers, they, by way of answer, had unloaded their pieces, and they plainly showed that they would make no resistance whatever to the multitude; that having heard nothing of the commander in chief of the national guards, not knowing what his plan of defence was, and there having been no communication whatever between the department and the municipality since Mandat had left the palace to go to the town-house; hearing every moment of fresh multitudes advancing from the suburbs, and perceiving no means of protecting the king and royal family, he had

proposed that they should leave the palace, and seek an asylum in the national assembly.

He had hardly finished his narrative, which was long and circumstantial, when an officer appeared at the bar, and declared that the gates of the palace were on the point of being forced; that many citizens would be murdered, and begged the assembly to think of some means of saving them.

M. Lamarque said,—' Without examining at present into the cause of those events, let us think only how to prevent the horrors that are threatened. I move that the assembly shall instantly order ten of their members to go and admonish the people against such excesses; invite them to peace, order, and obedience to law; let the commissaries throw themselves between the defenders and attackers of the palace; prevent, if possible, this double massacre of citizens: and I desire (continued he) to present myself to their first fire, if they shall fire on each other.'

Guadet proposed also, that, as from M. Rhœderer's account it appeared that the commander in chief was under arrest, they should appoint twelve members to go to the town-house, take the commander out of arrest, and re-establish the communication between the department and the municipality.

Some members said, they had just heard that the commander of the national guard had been killed.

' If that is so, (resumed Guadet), your deputation must be authorized to appoint some other officer to that place in his stead.'

The motions of Lamarque and of Guadet were both adopted; and the president having named the members for the first deputation, they hastened to the Carousel, to prevent the commencement of bloodshed.

A very short time after they were gone, the firing of cannon was heard, and a great noise in the garden of the Tuilleries.

In the intervals of the cannonade, a continued fire of musketry was heard.

The people at the gates called to arms: some of the deputies started up as if they intended to leave the hall; others called,—'No, no; this is our post—here we ought to die.'

Merlet, the president, not being present, Vergniaud had sat as president; he now yielded his place to Guadet, who said,

'In the name of our country, I require of the assembly to remain calm and in silence.'

In this state they did remain for a considerable time.

The cries of victory were heard, and they were told that the Swiss were flying.

It was apprehended, that in their retreat they might enter the hall.

'No armed force will enter here, (said the president); I am just informed that many Swiss, who took no part in the action, are discharging their muskets in the air, to shew that they never intended to join those who fired on the people.'

The minister of the marine declared that he had carried orders from the king, to those Swiss who were around the hall, not to use their arms; and he desired that the assembly would order them to be accompanied by municipal officers to some place of safety.

At one time there was such a noise and bustle in the passage immediately behind the two small rooms in which the royal family were, that their attendants became apprehensive that some ruffians were about to break in and offer them violence; and therefore they endeavoured to wrench out the iron bars which separated the box from the hall of the assembly, that the royal family might throw themselves into hall, if necessary: the bars were not removed till the king himself assisted, and by repeated efforts at last forced the bars out.

It was thought necessary to authorize a commission to make a proclamation, inviting the people to respect the lives and properties of the citizens; the proclamation to

be preceded by the words, *Vive la Liberté! Vive l'Egalité!*

It was proposed to add, Vive la Constitution!

This last was not adopted.

After this, the deputation from the new council, which had been elected the preceding night by the sections, entered the hall, and their president spoke in the terms formerly mentioned.

One of the most remarkable occurrences of that memorable day, and which forms the strongest contrast with most of the others, happened in the national assembly itself.

After the Swiss began to give way, and when those ill-fated soldiers, assailed on all sides, were slaughtered without remorse, a citizen of Paris had the humanity and the courage to protect one of them whom he saw overpowered by numbers, and ready to be sacrificed.

Having torn this poor Swiss from the hands of his assailants, he conducted him over the bodies of his countrymen to the bar of the national assembly.—'Here (cried the generous Frenchman) let this brave soldier find protection—I have saved him from the fury of my fellow-citizens, whose enemy he never was, and only appeared to be through the error of others: that is now expiated, and, Oh! let him in this hall find mercy!'

Having expressed himself in such terms, he threw his arms around the neck of the soldier; and overcome by fatigue of body and agitation of mind, he actually fainted in the arms of him whose life he had saved.

The spectators could not but be affected by this scene. When the man had by their care recovered his recollection, he begged that he might be permitted to carry the Swiss to his house; for he said it would be a happiness to him, to lodge and maintain, during life, the person whom he had had the good fortune to snatch from death.

Notwithstanding the indignation which the king and

queen must have felt at many things they had heard, they were the first who began the applause on this occasion, which instantly became universal.

The president addressed the citizen in these words.—'L'assemblée nationale vous a entendu avec intérêt. Elle applaudit à votre courage et à votre générosité.' *

Several of the national guards came and congratulated both the Swiss soldier and the citizen who had saved him.

A member of the assembly proposed, that the name of the citizen should be inserted in the procès verbal, which was instantly agreed to; and one of the secretaries announced, that the generous citizen's name was Clemence, and that he was by profession a wine-merchant.

Amidst the transactions of the 10th of August, and those so prevalent of late in this country, it is no small relief to the mind to meet with one of this kind.

On a review of all the well-authenticated circumstances which have come to my knowledge, relative to the affair of the 10th of last August, it seems most probable that nothing more than a plan of defence was intended in the Tuilleries; that the catastrophe of that day was owing to the usurpation of the new council of the commune de Paris, the murder of Mandat, and the boldness of the *fédérés* from Marseilles and Brittany.

That if Mandat had refused to obey the summons of the new council, which he certainly would have done, had he known that it was new; had he remained at the Tuilleries to encourage the national guards by his presence and words, and had the council within the palace been more decisive and consistent, the attack on the chateau would not have taken place; or, if it had, the event would have been very different, perhaps quite the reverse of what it was.

To talk of the king as a tyrant, who had formed a plan of bloodshed, &c. is of a piece with the groundless accusations, which men of all countries, when heated by the

* The national assembly has heard you with pleasure, and applauds your courage and your generosity.

spirit of party, are apt to throw out against their opponents. So very far was Lewis XVI from wishing to shed the blood of the people, that there is great reason to believe that his aversion to every measure which might lead to that is one cause of the triumph of his enemies, and of his own misfortunes.

As to the question of who fired first, it appears of little or no importance; for although it were proved that it was the Swiss, still it would be clear that the people were the aggressors. Did they not shew a determination to break into the palace? What were the Swiss placed there for? Was it to act as gentlemen-ushers to an armed multitude? No; they certainly did their duty as soldiers in firing upon those who came for no other purpose than to force their post; for, whatever orders the king may have given not to fire, it is certain that the Swiss never received any such: they did not even know that he and the royal family had gone to the national assembly. What motive but the generous sentiment of defending them from the fury of an outrageous rabble could influence the Swiss at the time the firing commenced? They saw plainly that the cannoniers were against them; that the national guards were hesitating, and unwilling to act; and that the *fédérés* were bursting into the palace. If at such a moment they had remained passive, they would have forfeited that reputation of fidelity and courage which belongs to their country.

If orders from the king, not to fire, had been brought to the Swiss, which certainly was not the case, (but let us for a moment suppose it), even in that case the principle of self-defence, as well as the peculiar sentiments of military men, would have justified them in acting as they did; for, at the instant before the firing began, the fury of the assailants was so violent, that the Swiss had no security of not being massacred if they had not repelled them by firing; and at all events they would have had their arms taken from them—an idea insupportable to soldiers.

On the whole, to imagine that the king's party were the aggressors on the 10th of August, is as absurd as to suppose that the *fédérés* and their auxiliaries did not march from the suburbs of St. Antoine to the chateau of the Tuilleries, but that the chateau went to the suburbs and attacked them.

August 22.

A prodigious number of people have been arrested since the 10th, and are now in prison. I am told that a very slight cause of suspicion is sufficient to produce these new kinds of lettres de cachet, which are issued by certain members of the commune de Paris in great profusion.

What makes this the more dreadful, is, that those who are arrested have, at present at least, no means of forcing their trial to be brought on within a reasonable time—so that a man, when arrested and sent to prison, does not know how long he may be confined before he has an opportunity of proving his innocence. It is a great while since some of the state prisoners at Orleans were confined, who have not yet been able to obtain a trial.

For these reasons, many persons who are conscious of nothing criminal, but merely not being connected with those who projected the insurrection of the 10th, have withdrawn from Paris, and some have absconded; among the latter is Monsieur de Narbonne, late minister for the war department. Having heard this gentleman represented as a warm friend to the cause of freedom, and understanding that the report of the committee on his administration was entirely in his favour, I was surprised when first told that he had left the country; but the irregular and persecuting spirit which now prevails, and whose malignity is peculiarly directed against men of noble birth, sufficiently justifies the step he has taken. M. de Narbonne is as much distinguished by his talents as his birth, which renders him still more exposed to the attacks of envy and malevolence; for every species of pre-eminence is viewed with jealous eyes during the

present rage for *égalité*—a term so easy to be construed that it ought never to have been used.

I heard a man who is well acquainted with the character of the popular leaders declare, that he was convinced that certain persons, whom he named, and who are attached to Roland, would very soon become odious to these leaders, for no other reason than that degree of eminence which talents give, and of course would be pointed out by the populace as dangerous men.

This kind of jealousy is more universal than may be imagined: in some it arises from their not being able to endure the consciousness of inferiority; in others, from an idea that their own interest is most likely to be hurt by such men; and in a third class, from downright stupidity, which makes them prefer men like themselves, and dislike those of a contrary character.

The present state of Paris seems what London would be during the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, and a suspension of the courts of justice at the same time.

If those mandates for arrests are wantonly given, as it is whispered to me they are, what a field is opened for the exercise of private malice and revenge! Yet these people dance about the streets, singing hymns to liberty, without regarding the despotism exercised in their sight, without reflecting that their fellow-citizens are imprisoned every day nobody knows why, and that they themselves may be arrested to-morrow with as little reason. For my own part, I am exceedingly shocked at the accounts I hear of the proceedings of this new court of inquisition, called, I think, Comité de Surveillance; and I have no patience with the indifference and gaiety of those who, being more nearly concerned, ought to be more shocked than I am.

During the execution of these arrests, the barriers are shut, and passports are in general refused—some, however, have been indulged with them. The abbé Dillon, I am told, presented himself to take the new oath to liberty and equality—he was desired to sign it—he said,

that when he had done so, he expected a passport, as his affairs called him out of Paris. It was answered, that he could not have one at that time. 'How then can I swear to maintain liberty,' said the abbé, 'since I find I am not free; or equality, when I know that others have had passports which are refused to me?'

I was in the national assembly when the note presented by the British minister on his being recalled was read: it was heard in silence, and no observation upon it was made.

All the ministers were at the bar.

Brissot then read a memorial to be presented to the court of Great Britain, explanatory of the late measures. This seemed to be heard with approbation.

August 24.

At the national assembly some chevaliers de St. Louis offered their crosses as patriotic gifts, and as proofs of their love of equality. The gift is trifling—but the spreading this notion of equality may have mischievous effects: who knows what meaning le peuple souverain may at last give to the word égalité?

In the Tuilleries and Palais Royal I remarked to-day a greater number than usual of itinerant haranguers of the populace. On joining the audience, I found that the subject at present is the *vices of kings*. The folly, extravagance, and wickedness of the French princes ever since the beginning of the monarchy were generally mentioned; and the perfidious cruelty, the effeminacy, the ostentatious emptiness, and imbecility of Charles IX, Henry III, Lewis XIV, and Lewis XV, were particularly pointed out. Henry IV himself was not spared; his adventure with the princess of Conti, and some oppressive laws made during his reign respecting the preservation of game, and the severe manner in which they had been put in execution, were strongly insisted on, to prove that even the best of kings are oppressors of the people.

It is not probable that men who had even that degree

of historical knowledge which makes them acquainted with the characters of those kings, would have spontaneously gone to retail it from a chair or table in those public places.

It follows that all those zealous orators are hired for the purpose of inspiring the people with a horror of monarchy, and with a love of another form of government.—Sometimes two orators stand upon opposite chairs, and dispute—one represents an aristocrate, and starts some feeble arguments in favour of monarchy—which are overset in the instant by the arguments of his democratic opponent, who overwhelms the defender of kings and nobles with ridicule, and exposes him, with those he defends, to the laughter of the audience: in short, every spring and engine which can have influence on the minds of the people, is set in motion to bias them against monarchy, and prepare them for the republican form of government which is certainly intended.

August 25.

I went this morning to the Temple. Great misfortunes interest the mind like great virtues. I do not believe that, during the short stay I propose to make in France, I should have thought of going to Versailles, had the royal family been living there in the same splendour I have seen them surrounded with on former occasions; but the cruel reverse they now experience, has seldom been absent from my thoughts since the 10th of this month; and although there was little chance of getting even a glimpse of them, I was attracted to the Temple merely because they are confined within its walls.

This building originally belonged to the order of knights templars, which arose in the time of the earliest crusades, and was destroyed with the most shocking circumstances of cruelty, on incredible pretexts, in the year 1313, by the avidity and revenge of Philip the Fair, with the concurrence of Pope Clement V, who was then in France. The ground which belongs to the Temple is surrounded by a high wall, on part of which are a kind of

battlements, which, I suppose, crowned the whole wall formerly. This wall also incloses a garden belonging to the principal body of the building; for a great many houses and separate buildings have been added, which are inhabited by tradesmen who enjoy particular privileges; and before the revolution the whole was an asylum for debtors.

There were a great many of the national guards at the principal gate, and a party under arms in the inner court, when I arrived; but on being informed that there was a particular spot behind the building, from which I had a greater probability of having my curiosity gratified, I went there in company with two gentlemen and a valet de place.

We were told that the king and queen frequently walked in the garden; and that the prince and princess royal are seen there still oftener; that the king, who discovers less concern than the rest, sometimes asks questions of the workmen who are employed in the garden, and in repairing part of the building.

We stood on a sort of rising terrace, from whence we could overlook the wall. A person whom I accidentally met on the spot gave me this information, and pointed out two windows in the tower which he said belonged to the apartment of the king and queen, and at which they were sometimes seen. While I stood looking at these windows, occasionally asking questions of our informer, one of the national guards, who was a sentinel near the place, came up, and, addressing me, said, Vous prolongez vos observations un peu trop, monsieur; passez votre chemin, s'il vous plait.*

Before I had time to speak, the valet de place said, Ces messieurs sont des étrangers—des Anglais. †

The sentinel replied, Ici je ne connais personne, ‡ and then repeated what he had said.

* You prolong your observations a little too much, sir; you had better be gone.

† These gentlemen are strangers; they are English.

‡ At this place I make no distinction.

Mais, monsieur, pourquoi? * resumed the valet.

Pourquoi! said the sentinel a little fiercely, parcequ'il le faut. †

I checked the valet, and we did what the soldier required; for, to borrow an expression of Dr. Johnson, *the request was reasonable, and the argument cogent.*

I am told the king and queen are more strictly confined since Madame de Lamballe was sent to the Hotel de Force; a proceeding which, of itself, is sufficient to fill them with vexation and terror.

The least attention towards the royal prisoners, beyond what is literally in the instructions given to those who attend them, creates suspicion, and gives offence. I was told that only two days ago the prince royal and his sister were playing at hand ball in the garden, the king and queen were looking on; the ball lodged in a part of the wall which the children could not reach; one of the commissaries of the commune, who was present in the garden, ran with eagerness and reached down the ball to the prince. This small piece of complaisance has been repeated and blamed.

Independent of every consideration of humanity, it would be good policy in those who have the government of this country, to treat the king and royal family with respect and with delicacy; and, independent of every consideration of policy, the situation of that unfortunate family is so affecting, that it might awaken the feelings of the most callous-hearted and interested statesmen, and incline them to measures of mildness, and even of generosity.

A contrary conduct will double every prejudice against the French revolution, and revolt the friends of freedom from the present government of France.

August 26.

I have heard certain members of the national assembly

* But why?

† Why, because it must be so.

complain of the delays which have prevented the state prisoners from being brought to trial; particularly those of Orleans. When I first heard this mentioned, I imagined it was from good-will to the prisoners, who had been so long confined without being allowed an opportunity of justifying themselves; but I soon found that those who made such complaints took the guilt of all the prisoners for granted, and were only impatient for their execution. Indeed I heard this avowed one night at the Jacobins, by a speaker whose face I had never before seen, and whose name nobody I questioned could inform me of.

After this equitable and humane declaration, he asserted that the people expected that ample justice should be speedily done on all those traitors; that the patience of the people began to be exhausted; and then insinuated, in pretty plain terms, that if *le glaive de la loi* was withheld much longer, the people would seize it with their own hands, and do themselves justice.

If I was surprised at such sentiments, I was still more to hear them applauded by the audience in the galleries.

I afterwards spoke of this to an acquaintance I have made since I came last to France, a Parisian. I said, 'I had taken some pains to discover the sentiments of the people on this subject, by questioning those tradesmen I had any opportunity of knowing, by frequently conversing with the shopkeepers, and with the company I met in coffeehouses, but I never had perceived in any of them an impatience for the trial or execution of the prisoners; nor had I ever seen any symptom of a sanguinary disposition in any of the people, except those in the galleries of the national assembly, and the Jacobin club.'

'The people you mention (he replied) are the industrious citizens (la bourgeoisie) of Paris: to them you do no more than justice—they certainly are not sanguinary—though, if they are much longer accustomed to see heads carried through the streets upon pikes, Heaven knows what they may become. But you must remember that the rabble who inhabit some of the suburbs, although

of a different character, still are the *people* as much as the others. And even with regard to them, (continued he), they would know nothing of the prisoners at Orleans or elsewhere, unless pains were taken to inform them; and, if left to themselves, would not trouble their heads about them one way or the other.

'Their rage is seldom excited but by the high price of bread, when the only remedy they think of, is the dragging of a baker or engrosser à la lanterne; there would terminate their thirst of blood: they never would have a wish for the death of other prisoners, if they were not wrought upon by wicked and ambitious men. And still it may be asked, what interest even those men can have in exciting the minds of the people against the prisoners? Why, in some it may proceed from a view of being thought very zealous patriots; in others, from private hatred, or a principle of revenge; and, in a third set, from a dread of what the prisoners may have it in their power to divulge when set at liberty.

'As for the applause or murmurs of the tribunes, (added he), they are no fair indications of the public opinion.

'People are placed in different parts of the house, with directions whom and what they are to applaud or condemn. Applauders and murmurers are to be had at all prices; and as females are more noisy, and to be had cheaper than males, you will observe there are generally more women than men in the tribunes.'

Such is the most probable account I have received on this subject; but on whatever principle this rancour against the prisoners depends, I am sorry to see it so active.

A petition was presented to the national assembly, complaining of the delay of the high national court of justice, created for the trial of the prisoners at Orleans, and requesting its suppression; and that these prisoners should be directly brought to Paris, and tried by the criminal court lately established here. This petition was

intermingled with insinuations of the determination of the people to have justice; that they would not be trifled with; but, in case of longer delay, would be tempted to avenge themselves.

La Croix, the president, a man of great firmness, made an answer which does him honour, importing, 'that the high court of justice belonged to the nation; was instituted by the constitution, and could not be suppressed by the national assembly; that such a power belonged to the convention only; that, besides, it would be unjust to transfer to judges, chosen by the single commune de Paris, that which the nation had consigned to judges elected by all the sections of the empire; you have sworn equality, not only of individual with individual, but with respect to all the sections of France.' He finished with these words.—'Il est minuit, et les représentans du peuple n'ont point encore suspendu leurs travaux: sans cesse occupés des grands intérêts qui leur sont confiés, ils n'en seront détournés ni par les menaces ni par les dangers.' *

There is dignity in this answer; but that country must be in a sad state, whose legislative body is obliged to hear threats from a small portion of the people, without having the power of punishing them.

August 27.

The news arrived yesterday at the national assembly, that the town of Longwy had surrendered to the Prussians.

As this place is tolerably well fortified, and had a garrison of considerable force beside the citizens, the news was unexpected, and made an evident impression on the minds of the deputies. After a short silence, Jean Debry rose and made a speech on the present state of France;

* It is midnight, and the representatives of the people have not yet ended their labours: continually occupied with the great interests with which they are intrusted, they will not be prevented either by threats or dangers.

observing, that destitute of a single ally, and attacked by a coalition of despotic princes without provocation, and for no other reason than that the French had thrown off a despotic and oppressive government, and established a more free and equal one, which the tyrants, who were combined against them, imagined might excite their own wretched subjects to attempt; and therefore, forgetting former animosities, these despots made a common cause against France——he added, that as this was the most profligate and extraordinary cause of war that the world had ever known, it was necessary to repel and put an end to it by extraordinary means. He therefore proposed that a body of 1200 volunteers should be levied, whose business should principally be—his words are, *dont la mission sera principalement de s'attacher corps à corps aux chefs des armées ennemies, et des rois qui les dirigent;* that is, whose business it should be to assassinate the generals and princes who commanded the armies which attacked France. He proposed that these select volunteers should be divided among the four armies which are now in the pay of France; that they should be clothed and armed in the manner best adapted to the purpose for which they were to be employed; that they should have two thousand livres of yearly pension, with reversion to their children to the third generation.

This motion was warmly opposed by Vergniaud, as unworthy of a free and enlightened nation, equally unjustifiable and inexpedient; 'for, (said he), even if no arguments of justice or humanity could be urged against such a measure, how can you prevent the same from being used against yourselves? If you form a band of tyrannicides, will not your enemies raise brigades for the purpose of assassinating the leaders of your armies? In such a situation, whom will you have to command your armies?'

To this it was answered, 'That the same reasons which are good respecting the conduct of other wars, do not apply to this: this is a war of despotism against freedom,

and must end in the destruction of the one or the other. If a stranger enters a house by violence, for the avowed purpose of dictating the domestic economy of the family, saying, I do not approve of your plan of life within these walls, you must arrange matters more to my taste, otherwise I will put you all to death—are not the family justifiable in destroying this intruder by every means in their power? 'Our enemies, we are told, will make reprisals. They certainly will; but they will as certainly use every means in their power for our destruction, whether we pass this decree or not.'

Lariviere spoke with much fervour against the decree. Other members spoke personally to Jean Debry, urging, that the passing such a decree might cause the immediate murder of many citizens of the town of Longwy, now in the hands of the Prussians.

This last argument prevailed. Debry said,—'As I consider the life of one innocent person as of more value than any project of decree, I consent that mine shall be sent to the *commission extraordinaire*.'

Lariviere exclaimed, that even this was unworthy of the French nation; and he demanded the order of the day.

It was sent however to the committee; and there I hope it will be buried, as it ought, for ever.

It will seem surprising that such a project was produced in the national assembly, and was afterwards approved of by some persons without doors, who quoted the examples of Scævola, Pelopidas, Timoleon, Brutus, and drew a comparison between this intended brigade of 1200, and the famous band of Greeks who obtained the appellation of the sacred band. Without entering into the merits of this comparison, it is evident that the publicity of the decree was a pretty sure means of rendering it ineffectual.

A report was made to the assembly, that several members had been indirectly making application for passports, that they might leave Paris at this crisis.

It was immediately proposed to decree, that every de-

puty who should abandon his post at this time, with or without a passport, should be declared infamous, and a traitor to his country. Thuriot said, they ought to have some mercy on those who quitted a post of which they felt themselves unworthy.

Français de Neufchateau proposed, that they should swear, not to leave their duty as deputies till they should be replaced by those chosen for the national convention. At the instant all the members rose and pronounced this resolution; an account of which was ordered to be sent to every department of France.

Servan, the minister of war, has written to General Luckner in the following terms.—The letter was read in the national assembly. 'J'ai été comme vous, M. le Maréchal, pénétré d'indignation contre les laches ou les traîtres qui ont livré à l'ennemi la place de Longwy. Comment! deux mille trois cents hommes de garnison, dans une place bien fortifiée, bien approvisionnée, ont-ils mis bas les armes, avant d'avoir souffert les horreurs d'un siege, et d'avoir vu leurs forteresses ouvertes en brêche! Et ce seroient-là des Français animé de l'esprit de la liberté? Non, ce ne sont que des laches!

'J'imagine, M. le Maréchal, que vous n'avez point tardé à assembler un cour martial pour juger ces coupables. Qu'ils perdent la vie avec ignominie tandis qu'ils auroient pu la defendre avec honneur, ou la perdre avec gloire, et utilement pour la patrie. Il faut que la France apprenne la punition en même temps que le crime; que cette punition donne du courage aux plus lache, et qu'elle venge le nom Français.' *

* I was equally with you, sir, filled with indignation against the cowards or traitors who have surrendered the town of Longwy to the enemy. How! a garrison of two thousand three hundred men, in a place well fortified and well provided, to lay down their arms without having suffered the horrors of a siege, or any breach having been made in the ramparts! And are those Frenchmen animated with the spirit of liberty? No, they are a set of cowards.

I imagine, sir, you have already ordered a court-martial to try those criminals: let them lose their lives with disgrace, since they have not chosen

This letter was universally applauded; and a little after M. Dubayet, a lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, and member of the assembly, demanded permission to join his regiment then on the frontiers, adding, 'I leave all my family as hostages.'

This was opposed; because, as was observed, if it was granted, all the military men then in the assembly, who no doubt are equally willing to serve against the enemy, would demand the same permission, which ought to be granted to none, except on condition that they gave in their demission as members, that others might be elected in their stead.

Dubayet said,—That he did not consider himself at liberty to resign a situation to which he was appointed by his country; but that his situation was different from that of his brother officers; for the regiment of Bourbonnois, of which he is lieutenant-colonel, is actually on the frontiers nearest the enemy, which is not the case with respect to the regiments to which any other military officer in the assembly belongs. 'Ah! de grace, messieurs,' continued he, 'permettez moi d'aller montrer aux braves soldats que je commande, un officier qui ne veut point practiser avec les ennemis de la liberté. Je ne veux point le pardon de ces traîtres; je ne veux point de paix avec les hommes féroces qui devastent le pays qui les vit naître; je leur déclare la guerre pour toute ma vie. Permettez moi d'aller les combattre, les vaincre, ou mourir.'*

One of the members observed to him,—'Vous avez

chosen to defend them with honour, or risked losing them with glory to themselves and utility to their country.

It is expedient that France should hear of the punishment as soon as the crime, that the punishment may give courage to the most cowardly, and avenge the French nation.

* For heaven's sake, gentlemen, allow me to go and shew to the brave soldiers I command, an officer who will not capitulate with the enemies of liberty; I do not ask the pardon of those traitors; I desire no peace with those ferocious men who lay waste the country which gave them birth; I declare everlasting war against them. Permit me to go and oppose them, that I may conquer them, or die.

juré, comme nous, de mourir au poste où vous êtes, vous ne devez pas oublier ce serment.'*

The assembly passed to the order of the day.

There are people who think that, at this crisis, a deputy who leaves the national assembly to join his regiment on the frontiers, would quit the post of danger for one where he would be safer.

The assembly have decreed, that there shall be an immediate levy of 30,000 men in Paris and the neighbouring departments. A number of petitions were read, some of them more remarkable for zeal than wisdom; but as they were all expressive of patriotism, they were heard with patience by the assembly, and with applause by the galleries.

A great number of patriotic donations, of no great value, were made. Chasseurs, who are to set out immediately for the frontiers, require the honour of marching through the hall: this is never refused.

The students of a college collect a small sum, and present it for the use of the widows and orphans of those killed on the 10th. One man sends a piece of old plate; another, having no plate, sends his silver buckles; one sends four or five muskets; another as many swords, for the use of those who march to the frontiers. A body of cannoniers appear at the bar, and desire a piece of ground to practise in. 'The enemy are advancing,' said the speaker: 'Vos braves cannoniers brûlent de les terrasser.'

It is natural for strangers to blame the assembly for allowing their deliberations to be interrupted in this manner.

It ought to be remembered, however, that the serious part of the business is carried on in committees, free from all disorder and interruption.

It should likewise be remembered, that many of those things which create noise, tend to keep the people in good humour, which of itself is a great point; they also contribute to keep alive that enthusiasm which alone can enable the French nation to withstand the powerful combined attack which bears from all quarters against it.

* You have sworn, as well as we, to die at the post where you now are placed; you ought not to forget that oath.

Servan's letter was a cordial well calculated for preventing the increase of that dejection which the news of the surrender of Longwy had begun to spread. A member soon after ascended the tribune, and desired to acquaint the audience with the dispositions in which the citizens of Sarrelouis were. He then read a letter from the magistrates. They write, that the enemy are within a league of their town.—' In a few days we shall hear the roaring of their cannon, (add they), and we expect to be besieged immediately; but our inhabitants and garrison, so far from imitating those of Longwy, are determined to be cut to pieces *(de se faire hacher)* rather than give up the town.

How the magistrates and inhabitants of Sarrelouis will behave when it is brought to the test, nobody can tell; but nothing can be more certain than that their letter had an admirable effect upon the people in the tribunes, who, by their enthusiastic applause, plainly shewed that they thought no more of the loss of Longwy.

It must be confessed, that those people have a most happy disposition for viewing objects in a favourable light, who are comforted for the *actual* loss of one town, by the *promise* that another shall be better defended.

August 28.

Lord Gower and his family left Paris yesterday to return to England. This gives more concern to many of the most intelligent of the French than even the surrender of Longwy. They consider his lordship's recall as a pretty strong presumption of the unfavourable disposition of the British court. Independent of all political considerations, which may be supposed to incline them to keep well with Great Britain at this particular juncture, I am greatly deceived if they have not a higher esteem for the national character, and more good-will to the individuals of it, than for those of any other country in Europe. They also imagine it is for the mutual interest of both countries that they should continue on good terms. They allow that at the

present moment France has a more pressing interest in this good fellowship than England; but they assert it is the reverse in general.

The French think they are losers by the commercial treaty; and they pretend that they abide by it notwithstanding, to give an unequivocal proof of good faith and good will to the English nation.

Talking very lately with a Frenchman on this subject, he observed, that he understood it to be a prevailing notion in England, that the English are better fighters and worse negotiators than the French; 'but (continued he) without admitting the truth of the first part of that opinion, I imagine there cannot be a stronger proof of the fallacy of the second, than the late commercial treaty, by which England has gained more from France than she ever did by the most successful war.'

That prejudice in favour of the character of its own inhabitants, which I know no nation devoid of, I believe the French possess in full as great a degree as their neighbours; it would be very singular if they did not, considering how much their manners have been imitated, and their writings admired, by all Europe, for these two centuries past.

But with whatever complacency they contemplate themselves, the very lowest among the French shew no positive hatred to foreigners. They may perhaps imagine that it is an honour to be born in France; but they do not think it a disgrace to be born elsewhere, as the people of the same rank in England certainly do.

If a French coachman or fishwoman quarrel with a foreigner, they will make no scruple to give him the worst name they can think of; but after they have called him a scoundrel, or whatever other abusive name occurs, they do not add, by way of aggravation, *Italian* scoundrel, *German* scoundrel, or *English* scoundrel; whereas those who deal in this kind of rhetoric in England, are never contented with calling a foreigner, whom they abuse, a scoundrel, because possibly the bystanders might imagine him

only an English scoundrel, and of course merely on a level with honest men of other nations; they therefore add the name of the country the man comes from, by way of consummating his infamy.

This however is not always considered as an injury. In the year 1745, a Scottish soldier of the rebel army, who was wounded at the affair of Clifton, and unable to march with the corps to which he belonged when they left Carlisle, was taken prisoner with the garrison, which consisted almost entirely of Englishmen.

A soldier of the king's army, who was sentinel at the prison where this man was confined, told him one day, on his inquiring for the surgeon,—'You need not trouble yourself about a surgeon; for I can assure you, that you are to be hanged very soon *for a Scotch rebel.*'

'Thanks to you kindly, sir, for your information, (replied the wounded man, in the accent of his country); for, as I was found in a garrison of the natives, I was just fearing they would, may be, have hanged me for an *English one.*'

An address from the national assembly to the inhabitants of the French frontiers was read by M. Vergniaud, who is reckoned, in point of eloquence, to be equal, if not superior, to any of the present deputies.

'CITOYENS,

'Votre position vous assure la gloire de combattre les premiers les ennemis de la liberté. La nation compte sur votre courage; comptez sur sa reconnoissance. Vos enfans seront ceux de la patrie, et partout vous trouverez des compagnons de gloire, ou des vengeurs.'*

The three commissioners, Kersaint, Antonelle, and Peraldy, sent from the national assembly on the night of the

* Your situation secures to you the honour of being the first to engage the enemies of liberty. Your country relies upon your courage; do you rely on her gratitude. Your children will be adopted as hers; and you will find every where partakers of your glory, or avengers of your death.

10th to the army commanded by M. la Fayette, appeared this day in the hall. As the duty they were sent on was of a very dangerous nature, and had been attended with more success than many people expected, they were received with long continued applauses.

Kersaint, with manly and perspicuous eloquence, narrated the various incidents which had occurred during their expedition.

M. la Fayette, by a singular accident, was informed of what had happened on the 10th, before the accounts were brought to any other person in his army.

He had sent M. d'Arblais, an officer of distinction in the army, with dispatches of great importance, and some confidential messages to the war minister. M. d'Arblais arrived within a post of Paris on the morning of the 11th. Having changed horses, he was stepping into his chaise, when a grenadier of the national guards, who had just arrived from Paris, saw him, and advertised him of the danger of continuing his route.

Some municipal officers, who had heard what the grenadier said, made difficulties respecting his being allowed to return. These difficulties were removed with infinite address and presence of mind on the part of D'Arblais, who posted back with all imaginable speed to M. la Fayette, whom he found at Sedan, and informed him of all he knew. M. la Fayette, having given what account of this business he thought most expedient, desired the magistrates of Sedan to arrest the three commissaries of the national assembly as soon as they should arrive. The commissaries were arrested accordingly; and they were detained in prison from the 14th at night till the morning of the 20th. During this period, M. la Fayette, finding that the army would not support him, but were determined to obey the orders of the national assembly, thought it necessary to withdraw, accompanied by M. d'Arblais, and some of his chief officers. The magistrates of Sedan, being now sensible of their error, released the commissaries, and implored their protection.

Kersaint interceded with the assembly in their favour.—'*Oublies leurs fautes comme nous les oublions*,' * said he in his speech from the tribune; and then proceeded to give an account of his reception by the army. Nothing certainly could be more critical than the situation in which that army seems to have then been: near to the enemy; abandoned by their principal officers; and ignorant, till the arrival of the commissaries, what they ought to do.

When these commissaries left Paris, it was believed by some people, with whom I conversed, that they would be put to death as soon as they should arrive at the army; and I see some persons who still think *that* would have been the case, if they had got there as soon as they intended.

But what entirely refutes this supposition, is M. la Fayette's having directed the magistrates to stop them at Sedan. If he had had any design of destroying them, and believed that the army also were so disposed, he would not have prevented their coming on.

M. Kersaint in his speech states much matter of accusation against La Fayette, yet it seems evident that he was not in intelligence with the enemy; for, if he had, it would have been easy for him to have given them such information as would have brought them upon his army when they were deprived of their commanders, and in that surprise and confusion which such a state must necessarily produce. But the enemy made no attempt on the French army during this critical period: which of itself refutes part of the calumny with which M. la Fayette has been pursued, and renders what is asserted by his friends very probable—that although he was pressed by every motive of personal safety to hasten his departure, he did not leave his army till after he had made such a disposition as put it out of the enemy's power to attack it.

I cannot answer all the charges I daily hear brought against M. la Fayette; but they are of too general a na-

* Forget their faults as we do.

ture, and urged with too much passion, to convince me that the friend of Washington, the man who shewed such a love for the cause of freedom, both in America and in France, should, all at once, become a traitor.

August 29.

If there was nothing else to ruin the public affairs of France, the continual accusations against all men in office, whether military or civil, would be sufficient for that purpose: men seem to be suspected of treachery on no stronger grounds than because treachery is in their power. But it is impossible to put any man into an office of public trust, without putting treachery in his power: at this rate, therefore, every man enjoying an office of trust will be suspected; in such a state of things, how can government go on?

General Luckner, who is at the head of the army, is often abused in the public prints, which appear here in vast profusion; and insinuations of the most malignant nature, and probably without foundation, are daily spread against him. General Arthur Dillon is exposed to attacks of the same nature.

It might have been hoped, that the recent and deplorable fate of this gentleman's friend and relation, Theobald Dillon, maréchal-de-camp, would have produced a little caution and delicacy towards officers of that name.

It is above a century since that gallant family, originally from Ireland, were naturalized in France.

The unfortunate General Theobald Dillon was, about the end of April last, ordered upon an expedition from Lille to Tournay. The party under his command, at sight of the Austrians, cried out, Nous sommes trahis! and fled. A dragoon, whom the general attempted to stop, fired his pistol and wounded him, while another wounded his aid-de-camp in the same manner, and threw him from his horse.

On his return to Lille, the soldiers assassinated their commander, and also Colonel Berthois, the chief engi-

neer, to cover their own cowardice or treachery; for it is believed by many, that some soldiers had been bribed by the enemy to spread the notion that the French army was betrayed by their officers, which occasioned the disorder and flight of the troops, and the murder of their leaders.

Justice was afterwards done to the good faith and good conduct of Dillon and Berthois, by a court-martial, and the assassins punished. The national assembly also made all the reparation in their power to their families. A pension was given to the wife and children of Colonel Berthois. General Dillon was not married; but he had lived in the strictest intimacy with Josephine de Feville, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. The youngest son was born at Lille, at the time his father was murdered, and the infant was carried to baptism across the square on which the mangled body of the father still lay. The wretched mother, terrified by a report that the assassins intended to destroy herself and her children, rose from her bed, and in that dismal condition walked on foot three quarters of a league, to the house of M. d'Aumont, a French officer and the friend of Dillon; where she and her children were hospitably entertained for a long time, during which she had languished under a disease, the consequence of her terror and fatigue. A narrative of these affecting circumstances was read in the assembly; together with the last will of Theobald Dillon, written in his own hand at Lille, immediately before he set out on this unfortunate expedition. In this testament he recommends his children and their mother to the friendship and affection of his sisters and relations, in the most pathetic terms.

This last proof of the tenderness of a brave soldier, to those most dear to him, had great effect on the national assembly; they immediately decreed a pension of 1500 livres to Josephine de Feville during her life, and one of 800 livres to each of her three children.

This plan of spreading reports of treachery among the generals having succeeded in this instance, encourages

them to try it in others. A rumour began to circulate lately, that General Dumourier had passed over to the enemy: this however will go no great length: a man was sent to prison for repeating it in a coffeehouse, with this addition, that the Prussians gave no quarter.

It is generally thought that there are many agents now in Paris, employed by the emigrant princes to circulate alarming reports of this nature, and to create universal distrust and suspicion. This, at least, is infinitely more probable than the ridiculous fiction, which however I find is credited by many, namely, that the guineas of the British treasury are scattered over the suburbs of St. Antoine, to keep up the spirit of discord and sedition.

Several persons, I am told, have received anonymous letters within these few days, from pretended friends, earnestly entreating them to fly from Paris with all possible expedition, as events of the most dreadful nature are about to happen.

Letters from unknown friends are generally dictated by real enemies; and those dispersed on the present occasion, are probably intended to augment the inquietude which begins to disturb the thoughts of that portion of the inhabitants of this metropolis who ever think at all.

It is hardly possible to conceive what absurd and inhuman suggestions arise from fear. A stronger instance cannot well be given than what took place this day in the national assembly; where a member discovered danger and destruction advancing, not from the disciplined battalions of Prussia, or the vengeful squadrons of the emperor, but from the languid hands of a woman shut up in a prison and oppressed with aggravated calamity.

'Be assured (cried this man) that there still exists a conspiracy in Paris, every minute part of which it is your duty to trace. The vigilance of the guards on the Temple has been lulled. The prisoners there have found means of communication with the traitors at Coblentz. N'est-ce pas assez (continued this unrelenting man) que cette femme barbare, que cette femme bourreau, s'occupe

dans sa retraite des moyens de se baigner encore dans le sang des Français? N'est-ce pas assez qu'elle respire encore, sans que vous la laissiez renouer ses trames contre-révolutionnaires? Otez-lui tous les moyens de correspondre avec nos ennemis, et que Louis XVI livré à sa lourde nullité, ne corresponde plus qu'avec sa honte et ses remords. Je demande, 1. que l'on cherche la presse dont se servent encore les conspirateurs: 2. que tous les membres qui composent la family du roi, soient enfermés séparément, sans aucune communication entre eux.' *

This vile speech was applauded by the tribunes.—They surely import negro-drivers from the West Indies to place in those tribunes.

The first article only, however, was adopted by the assembly; the other was rejected.

All this terror of conspiracy arose from a book lately published, entitled,—Les bien-faits de l'assemblée nationale, ou entretiens de Madame Saumon.

This book, the orator said, turned the national assembly into ridicule, and filled him with horror. I question much, however, if it is half so ridiculous as his speech; I am sure it will not fill me with more horror.

August 30.

The national assembly seem disposed to behave with republican sternness to those who disappoint the expectations of their country when before the enemy.

Some soliders of the garrison of Longwy appeared at

* Is it not enough that this barbarous woman is employed in her confinement in schemes to enable her again to bathe herself in the blood of Frenchmen? Is it not enough that she still breathes, without your permitting her to renew her plots against the revolution? Deprive her of the means of corresponding with our enemies, and let the weighty nullity of Louis XVI have no correspondence of any kind, except with his shame and with his remorse.

I require, in the first place, that search may be made for the press of which the conspirators make use: in the second place, that all the members of the king's family shall be separately confined, without any communication with each other.

the bar, to give an account of the reduction of the place, and apologize for the conduct of the inhabitants and garrison. They accused their officers and the magistrates; they said they had narrowly escaped being massacred by the Prussians, who had promised them the honours of war. 'You deserved the treatment you received,' cried some of the members.

What could a garrison of eight hundred men do, when attacked by sixty thousand.

'You might have died,' was the cry of the assembly; in imitation no doubt of the *qu'il mourût* of Corneille.

The soldiers finished their memorial, by protesting that they were determined on the first opportunity to avenge their country and prove their courage.

This declaration was heard with a murmur of incredulity, and their memorial was sent to the *commission extraordinaire.*

A letter was read yesterday in the national assembly from Merlin, one of the magistrates of Thionville, and father to the deputy. He writes that the inhabitants expect soon to be besieged, but are determined to be blown up with the town rather than surrender.

On which Jean Debry exclaimed with fervour,—'The most instant and vigorous measures must be adopted in defence of our country; the expense must not be thought of: within fifteen days we shall enjoy freedom or meet with death. If we are conquered, we shall have no need of money, for we shall not exist.—If we are victorious, still we shall not feel the want of money, for we shall be *free.*'

In consequence of a mandate from the municipality of Paris, which seems to be the sole executive power, each section was ordered to choose commissaries for making a general search for arms and suspected persons.

This search was made accordingly in the course of last night and this morning. The commissaries were attended with body of the national guards, and all avenues of the

sections were watched to prevent any person from escaping. They did not come to our hotel till about six in the morning. I attended them through every room, and opened every door of our apartment. They behaved with great civility; we had no arms but pistols, which lay openly on the chimney.

They admired the nicety of the workmanship of one pair, but never offered to take them.

I understand that a considerable number of muskets have been seized, and many people arrested. The master of our hotel was on guard last night; I saw him return this morning in his warlike attire. He talked a good deal of the fatigue he had undergone, and hinted a little of the dangers to which he had been exposed in the course of this severe duty.

Being asked if he had been successful in his search after suspected persons—

'Oui, milord, infiniment.'—

He could not have looked more lofty if he had taken the duke of Brunswick—

—'Notre bataillion a attrapé quatre prêtres.' *

I do not hear that those poor men are accused of any other crime than that of not having taken the oath to the new constitution: this seems a presumption that they are men of principle, guided by the dictates of conscience, whether well or ill informed, and ought to subject them to no punishment—yet they were carried to the prison of the Abbaye.

When men's minds are agitated with party and political dissensions, they are apt to lose all idea of justice and candour.

The clergy in general are extremely odious in France at present. They certainly have been hardly used; and it is an old observation, that men often hate those they have wronged. The clergy have unquestionably lost influence in every country of Europe of late years; but more in France then any where else. What an alteration

* Our battalion has caught four priests.

since the war of the League, and even since the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

This body of men have been always exposed to the indiscriminating satire of witlings and profligates; but now, in this country, men of grave and *serious* characters are also against them. A member of the national assembly, and of the foregoing description, had occasion yesterday in the assembly to say something in favour of an ecclesiastic: he added, 'He is indeed the honestest priest I am acquainted with—for I was never acquainted with another.'

The assembly laughed. I did not join, because I have been far more fortunate in my acquaintance with that order of men than the deputy. But what should shock sincere Catholics still more, was what happened two days since in the assembly.—Certain citizens brought to the bar a silver statue of St. Roche. 'We have often addressed prayers to our St. Roche (said one of them) against the political plague which makes such ravages in France—he has given us no answer—we imagine his silence may possibly be owing to his form; and therefore bring him to you, that he may be converted into specie; hoping that, in this new shape, he will better contribute to drive the pestiferous race of our enemies out of France.'

This harangue was heard with applause by the assembly and tribunes, and the saint was conducted to the mint.

A report of the most absurd nature prevails at present; it is circulated by many, and believed by some, that there is a plan for placing his royal highness the duke of York on the throne of France. It is thought that this measure would secure to France an alliance with Great Britain, and with Prussia; and on that account it may, perhaps, be wished by more people in this country than can possibly believe it. It cannot be wished for by any who are interested in the continuation of the duke's happiness.

In the present disposition of the French nation, the crown of France is assuredly not an object of desire.

August 31.

As much pains is taken to spirit up the people against priests, as against aristocrates. One reason, no doubt, is, because the clergy in general are aristocrates; another is, the dislike which a number of people, independent of politics, bear to a set of men, who, by profession, are obliged to censure and condemn the mode of life which those people choose to live.

Then it is so easy a thing to pick out sufficient matter for any abusive pamphlet, from the writings which at all times have appeared against the priesthood, and apply them to the clergy of the present times, although as different from each other, as the present race of Parisians are from the ancient Gauls, or the Parisians of the league.

One powerful engine that has been brought to bear against the clergy, as well as against the monarchy, is that old enemy of the former, the stage. I lately saw Les Victimes Cloîtrés at the Théâtre de la Nation; a piece evidently written to inspire horror and indignation against the priesthood, and to place monks in particular in the most atrocious point of view. The part was played by Fleuri, an admirable actor, easy and elegant in comedy; full of energy, and pathetic in the highest degree, in tragedy; quite free from that pompous swell and strut so common in French tragic acting, and which certainly never prevailed in real life among the sons of men.

Mademoiselle Contade is at the head of French comic acting; and it is in comic acting that the French excel. Here you see the polished manners of high life represented without grimace or affectation; and all the nature and simplicity of the inferior ranks without vulgarity.

The French actors and actresses possess beside, particularly in their comic operas, a bewitching gaiety and playfulness of manner, which is attempted without success on other stages.

The arresting of citizens, by orders from the conseil des représentans de la commune, continues, and gives alarm and uneasiness to many for themselves or relations:

some have been taken up of late who were always considered as warm patriots. I am informed of this with caution; for it is not thought quite safe to complain of those who, by some means or other, possess almost the whole power of the state.

Complaints of this tyranny, however, have been made in the national assembly; and Vergniaud has declaimed against it with the most affecting eloquence. There can be no doubt of his having convinced them of the greatness of the grievance, and given them all the desire possible to redress it: but there is reason to believe that the assembly itself is under the influence of terror.

The walls of Paris are at this moment covered with addresses to the people against particular deputies—with insinuations that the majority are infected with aristocracy. These papers are not all anonymous; some of the most abusive are signed *Marat*, the name of a *pretended* patriot, and, from every account I have received, a *real* incendiary.

Symptoms of misunderstanding between the assembly and the conseil de la commune have appeared pretty evidently of late. As the assembly are the representatives of the whole French nation, and the council is composed of men deputed from the different sections of Paris, it is plain that the council ought to be subordinate to the assembly; but by intrigue and management, during the disorders which have existed since the 10th of August, the council have acquired the ascendancy.

The active citizens of the suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau are more at the command of the latter than of the former; and at present the inhabitants of those two suburbs are all that is felt in Paris of the peuple souverain. What the convention may be able to effect, there is no knowing; but there is little probability that *this* national assembly, which is on the point of dissolution, will ever acquire the ascendancy it ought; and that the conventional assembly should ever have an existence, seems daily more and more problematical.

Commissaries are appointed by the national assembly to every section of the department of Paris and in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of promoting the new levies; which go on so successfully, that they will be completed within a very few days, although only two men should be chosen out of three of those who offer themselves. To encourage those who work at the intrenchments now forming round Paris, some citizens in easy and opulent circumstances go there daily, and not only treat the hired labourers with occasional refreshments, but work with persevering assiduity themselves.

It appears singular, that, in the midst of this general alarm, the national assembly was occupied, a considerable portion of yesterday, on an intended decree, the object of which is to facilitate the means of divorce.

September 1.

In the present agitation of men's minds, with that prejudice and resentment which it creates, there is reason to fear that the courts of justice, as well as the national assembly, are obliged to pay too much attention to the opinions of the people without doors.

A criminal court was lately appointed for the purpose of trying the criminals of the 10th of August. One D'Angremont was the first prisoner brought before this tribunal. He had formerly been secretary to the administration of the national guards, at the office of the Maison de Ville, where he was placed by the late ministers; and was now accused of being the chief of a great band of men, raised and employed for the purpose of making anti-revolutional motions in clubs; holding discourses of the same nature on the terrace of the Feuillans, the gardens of the Palais Royal, and other places of public resort, with an intention to excite sedition, and raise the people to insurrections against the national assembly, and the public magistrates, particularly the mayor and other patriots.

This band was divided into detachments of ten men each, every detachment having a captain and lieutenant.

The pay of the captains was ten livres; that of the lieutenants, five; and that of each private man, two livres ten sols daily. They had particular signs and words, by which they knew each other, at the public walks, at the tribunes, and wherever the citizens assemble. They also carried a stick of a particular kind, which they called the *constitution.*

The number was said to amount in all to 1500 men. D'Angremont paid and directed the whole. The captains gave an account daily to him of whatever had passed; and he made a kind of return of this in three notes: one to the king himself, and the two others to two persons in public office.

The advocate for the prisoner, besides various other defences, pleaded, that, as his client had been arrested on the 8th or 9th of August, he could not be judged by a tribunal constituted for the trial of crimes committed on the 10th. But as that which the prisoner was accused of *referred* to what happened on the 10th, this plea was overruled.

After a trial of thirty hours, three propositions were given to the jury to deliberate upon. They remained three hours inclosed. On their return to court, the first article was stated to them by the judge.—

'Do you find it proved, that there was on the 10th of August a conspiracy within the Tuilleries to excite a civil war in the country?'

The foreman of the jury answered in the negative. On this there was a general murmur among the audience.

The judge next demanded,—'Do you find that there was a design in the Tuilleries of seizing unconstitutional power?'

To this question the jury answered in the affirmative.

'Do you find it proved that the prisoner was engaged in this design?'

The jury found this proved also. After they had given their verdict, the commissaire, according to the French phrase, applied the law.

D'Angremont was condemned to be beheaded. As he retired from the court, the people having perceived that he wore the uniform of the national guards, two of them went into the prison of the Conciergerie, where this poor man was conducted after receiving his sentence, and informed him that the people required that he should not appear on the scaffold in that dress. The prisoner immediately took his coat off.

Five hours after his condemnation, he was brought to the place of the Carousel, and executed by torch-light. When he mounted the scaffold, the spectators testified their joy by acclamation and clapping their hands; which savage sign of satisfaction they redoubled when his head, being severed from his body, was held up to their view by the executioner.

This was no great proof of their patriotism, though perhaps some of them intended it as such; but it was a most complete one of their brutality.

Le peuple souverain begins to grow as cruel as other despots.

M. Laporte, intendant de la liste civile, was brought next before the same tribunal. He was accused of having employed the money of the civil list in printing and publishing an immense number of pamphlets, libels, and placards, the tendency of which was to spirit up the people against the patriots, and bring about a counter-revolution; employing and paying a number of agents for the same purpose; remitting money to the emigrants at Coblentz, particularly to the king's body guards, who were in that city.

In general he denied these charges. The evidence adduced against him consisted chiefly of papers and letters found in the king's cabinet on the 10th of August. A great many letters were found also among his own papers from persons who professed great loyalty, and willingness to risk their lives in defence of the king; and requesting tickets to be admitted into the gardens of the Tuilleries, and also into the palace itself, dur-

ing the time that the former were kept shut from the public.

M. Laporte was asked how many of those tickets *he* had distributed. He answered, None; that being the business of the governor of the Tuilleries.

He was asked how many had been distributed. He answered, about 2000.

He was shown an order signed by him, addressed to to the marechaux de logis, ordering them to prepare accommodations for some officers of the Swiss guards, on the 9th of August, in the chateau. Another order signed by him to the commissary of the magazine, for 400 bed-covers for Swiss guards on the 9th. He acknowledged these signatures.

Being asked of how many the Swiss guard consisted that night, he answered, That he did not know the exact number; but that it was double the usual number.

Being asked if he had not paid the gardes du corps at Coblentz; if he had not transmitted money to the king's brothers and other emigrants.—To these, and all questions of a nature to criminate himself essentially, he answered in the negative.—It seems strange to a British subject, that the court allowed such questions to be persisted in. If they had proof, they might have brought it forth: but it is highly unbecoming a court of justice to endeavour to entrap a prisoner by drawing it from his own mouth. They not only did so, but as it was then beginning to grow duskish, the national commissary required that lights might be placed near M. Laporte, that the jury might observe the various impressions which the questions made on his countenance.

What a very fallible kind of evidence must this have afforded!

None but skilful physiognomists ought to have been on this jury.

He was asked if he did not keep up a correspondence with the prisoners at Orleans.

He answered, That, of all the state prisoners there, he

knew only MM. de Brissac and Delessart: the first he had been acquainted with at school; the other he knew only after he was minister; but that he had kept up a correspondence with neither.

There must have been a great deficiency of direct and substantial evidence, when they were reduced to dwell on such weak circumstances.

He was told by the court, that, if he had been a good citizen, he would have informed the national assembly of the great expense which Louis XVI was at to maintain counter-revolution agents, and a counter-revolution spirit in Paris.

He answered, That by his office he was to pay those who brought orders from the king. What man of worth would have accepted of the office, if he had been told that it was expected he was to do the duty of a spy? or to accuse the king before the national assembly, as often as he spent his money improperly?

The public accuser recapitulated the charges and evidence; and the jury having withdrawn for two hours, declared that the prisoner was convicted of having expended immense sums of money, to foment a civil war, and by that means restore the ancient despotism.

He was condemned to lose his head.

M. Laporte heard the sentence pronounced without apparent emotion; and with equal calmness listened to a kind of exhortation addressed to him by the president.

He then, without taking notice of the president, or his exhortation, turned to the audience, and said,—'Citoyens, je proteste que je meurs innocent; puisse l'effusion de mon sang remaner la tranquillité du royaume!—mais j'en doute.' *

M. Laporte retained the same manly behaviour to his last moment; his appearance on the scaffold was modest and dignified, so as to move the compassion of many, and command the respect of all the spectators.

* Citizens, I protest that I die innocent; may the effusion of my blood restore tranquillity to the kingdom!—but I doubt it.

Durosoy, a man of letters, formerly editor of the Gazette de Paris, and of another public paper, entitled, Le Royalisme, was next brought to the bar. He was accused of a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the revolution, both within and without the kingdom; with being the author of anti-revolution writings; with being involved in the guilt of the 10th of August; and with having inserted in the Gazette de Paris, of the 9th of August, a plan of defence, in case the chateau of the Tuilleries should be attacked.

He denied having any connexion with the 10th of August; that he was then at Anteuil; and said that the article complained of was inserted in the Gazette without his knowledge. Notwithstanding a very eloquent defence, he was found guilty by the jury, and condemned like the rest.

He heard his sentence with equal firmness, saying,—'Un royaliste, come moi, devoit mourir le jour de St. Louis.' *

He preserved his courage on the scaffold, and was beheaded amidst the cries of Vive la Nation!

The court in the next instance tried M. d'Ossonville, judge de paix. He was accused of having protected D'Angremont and his accomplices as often as they were brought before him; and of being an accomplice of his in his anti-revolution proceedings, and involved in the conspiracy of the 10th of August.

The chief foundation of the accusation against this man was, that his name was inscribed in a register, found in D'Angremont's possession, as the judge before whom he and all his partisans were to carry every appeal or dispute they should have; and it was proved that there was a considerable connexion between them.

The jury was inclosed two hours, and then gave a special verdict, that D'Ossonville had co-operated in the plan of D'Angremont, to excite a civil war, and restore a

* It becomes a royalist, such as I am, to die on St. Lewis's day.

despotic government; but that it was not proved that he had assisted in this knowingly, and of design.

This prisoner had so little expectation of a favourable verdict, that, while the jury was inclosed, he said to a person who poured out a glass of wine to him,—'The wine you have poured out, my dear sir, is the last I shall ever taste.'

I am glad I have to add, that the verdict of the jury was followed by the long and repeated applauses of the audience. This was really some relief to my mind; for I was afraid that nothing but condemnation was agreeable to the people; and that the opinion or prejudices of the public had too much influence on the decisions of the courts.

M. Montmorin, mayor of Fontainebleau, and formerly colonel of the regiment of Flanders, was brought before the tribunal. He had already undergone an examination before the national assembly, in consequence of which he was now brought to his trial. He was accused of having been engaged in schemes which brought on the action of the

He made a very able defence, and shewed great presence of mind during his trial. The jury was inclosed three hours, and then gave a verdict of the same nature with that given in the trial of M. d'Ossonville,—'That it was proved that there had been plots and machinations, the tendency of which was to kindle a civil war; that it was also proved that M. Montmorin had assisted in some of these; but it was *not proved* that he had assisted *wickedly*, or with an *intention to do mischief*.'

This verdict was no sooner given, than loud murmurs of disapprobation were heard among the audience.—'You discharge him to-day, (cried one of them), and within a fortnight he will order our throats to be cut.'

This created such confusion, that fatal consequences were feared. The president expostulated with the people, and pointed out the fatal tendency of their interfering in a case of this kind; but he was not able entirely

to calm them, till he said that perhaps there were among the jury some persons whose connexion with the prisoner's family had influenced their judgment, in which case it would be proper to have the verdict revised by a new jury.

The president thought it necessary to conduct M. Montmorin out of the court to prison, to protect him from the violence of the people, who hissed and hooted him as he passed. In the outer court, one of the national guards aimed a stroke with his sword at the president, which was parried by a bystander; so that the judge received no wound.

Lewis XIV and Lewis XV never gave more alarming proofs of depotism than when they interposed their authority against the legal course of justice.

This was complained of even when their interposition was to protect a criminal whom the law condemned. If they had exercised their power in condemning whom the law acquitted, it would have been still more odious. On the present occasion, however, it is what the people are doing. If, therefore, it was a power superior to law which the French chiefly complained of in their ancient monarchy, they have not found it remedied by the abolition. Yet this is at least as great a grievance when exercised by le peuple souverain, as by any other tyrant.

The vices of tyrants are said to run in a circle, and produce one another. Luxury and prodigality beget rapine; rapine creates hatred in the subject, which raises fear in the prince. Fear produces cruelty, cruelty despair, and despair destruction.

In the peuple souverain, cruelty is not derived from the same remote ancestors; but springs directly from power combined with credulity in the most absurd accusations, and a taste for the sight of executions.

All tyranny is intolerable. If the French cannot find the means of subjecting the people within the limits of law, they will gain nothing by their revolution.

One particular circumstance renders le peuple sou-

verain a more formidable tyrant than any other, namely, that all other tyrants are in some respect personally answerable for their actions, which is some restraint on them; whereas the peuple souverain indulge their caprice or fury without any restraint whatever.

Not satisfied with trying to intimidate the court, on purpose to force a revision of the verdict, and obtain one more to their mind, an attempt was made in the next place to intimidate the national assembly. The day after the trial of M. Montmorin of Fontainebleau, some persons who called themselves deputies from the people came to the bar of the assembly, to express their indignation at the judgment pronounced by the jury in his favour; and required, in the name du peuple souverain, a speedy answer on the subject.

To this very sturdy petition the president answered,—That the assembly would inquire into the object of their request; that undoubtedly the people of France was sovereign; but this sovereignty lay in the whole people, and not in any separate part, and never could be exercised but by the representatives of the whole nation.

This observation of the president is very just; but there is reason to dread that there will be some difficulty in making the people understand it, and still more in making them conform to it. For le peuple souverain is a monarch composed of heterogeneous substances, like the image of which Nebuchadnezzar dreamed; part is fine gold, part silver, part brass, part iron, and a large portion clay: each of these divisions occasionally assumes the right of representing the whole sovereign; and the clay portion is exceedingly apt to bedaub all the others when they offer to dispute this right with it.

M. Montmorin, formerly the minister for foreign affairs, was yesterday examined before the national assembly. He was not accused of having any connexion with what happened on the 10th of August; but the following articles of charge were exhibited against him.—That he

sacrificed the interest of France to that of Austria, in opposing an alliance between France and Prussia; that he concealed the league of foreign powers against France, and did not use all the means in his power to prevent it; that he pretended to be ignorant of the designs of the emigrant princes, and aided by his silence their schemes against France.

M. Montmorin, when interrogated on these three heads, answered, that he knew nothing of the treaty of Pilnitz; that he was really ignorant of the designs of the French princes, and therefore could not inform the national assembly of either in time; and in general, that he was innocent of the whole charge. The assembly, however, adopted the decree of accusation, and M. Montmorin was ordered into custody.

M. Barnave, so much distinguished for his eloquence in the constituent assembly, was lately arrested at his country house near Grenoble, and carried to the prison of that city. What gave occasion for this is a paper found in the king's cabinet, and indorsed in the king's hand,—'Projet du comité des ministres, concerté avec MM. Barnave et Alex. Lameth.'

This paper consists of various articles, or hints of what it might be expedient to do.

1. To refuse the sanction.

2. To write another letter in a friendly style to the princes.

3. A new proclamation respecting the emigrants in a firm style, and marking a determination to maintain the constitution.

4. A requisition to the neighbouring powers to suffer no assemblies of armed men on their territories.

With other hints of what the ministers were to say to the national assembly; particularly to insist on the good effect which the king's former requisitions had produced on the mind of the emperor, &c.

Upon the whole, there seems nothing of a treasonable nature in this paper; and if there was, there is no proof

that Barnave or Alexander Lameth had any knowledge of it. But at present the least circumstance creates suspicion, and the least suspicion is sufficient for an order of arrest.

I feel much concern for these proceedings, because I believe the minds of those in power to be too much inflamed for candid investigation of the conduct of men who acted on principles opposite to their own; and because, although all the charges brought against those unfortunate men had been proved, still they might have conceived that they were doing their duty, and acting in suppport of the constitution.

The court had been long attacked in journals, in papers, and placarts fixed on the walls, by men hired to harangue in public places against the king and his ministers, who insinuated, and often asserted, that the country was betrayed, that there was a plot to murder the patriots, and sell a great part of the kingdom to the emperor; and ideas of a republican nature were likewise spread on all convenient occasions.

It was not unnatural in the king or his ministers to think of defending themselves, and resisting this attack with the same kind of weapons that were used by their enemies. They did no doubt accordingly pension journalists, and employ agents, to attend the tribunes of the national assembly, to mix in groups at the public places, to fix up placarts on purpose to counteract the designs of their enemies, and turn the public opinion in their favour. For this purpose D'Angremont and his band may have been employed, Durosy may have written, and they may have believed in their conscience that they were defending the king, and supporting the constitution, against those who wished to destroy both. M. Laporte also might think he was doing no injury to the constitution, in advancing money which was at the king's disposal in defraying this expense, according to the orders he received from his majesty; and there does not seem any thing highly criminal in transmitting money by the king's or-

on their own conduct, but on *that* of the Swiss, the national guards, the *fédérés*, and those who directed them.

If it were clearly proved that the king had entered into a plan for overturning the constitution, which he had accepted and sworn to support; that he kept up a correspondence with the enemies of his country, and abetted their invasion for the purpose of re-establishing the old government, and at the risk of the dismemberment of France; if these things were proved, no man who has read the chapter of the *Constitution Française*, which concerns the king, can have the least doubt of his having incurred the penalty of forfeiture of the crown; and beyond that penalty justice cannot go, with respect to him, were all these charges ever so clearly proved.

In that case, however, those who were acquainted with his designs, and assisted him in promoting them, would be justly condemned to death as traitors.

But if none of those charges are clearly proved; if nothing is discovered incompatible with the idea that the king was conscientiously resolved to adhere to the constitution, and had formed no plan to restore the old government; that the measures he took, and the arrangements he made within the Tuilleries, on and for sometime before the 10th of August, were merely defensive; and that the attack had been long meditated by those who wished to destroy the constitution, and establish a republican form of government: that the very men who now exclaim against the king for shedding the blood of the people wantonly, are those who provoked the war with the emperor, and incited the attack of the Tuilleries, on puspose to insnare the king, and afford them opportunities of accusing him of a correspondence with the court of Vienna, and of acting offensively against his own subjects; that they might have pretexts for injuring him in the minds of the people, and establishing that republican form of government which they so much desire: if those suppositions are founded on truth, the king, and those who suffer on this occasion, must engage our sympathy in the highest degree.

The greatest pains are taken at the club of Jacobins, in the public walks, at the meetings of the sections, in the coffeehouses, and wherever people meet and converse, to persuade the public that the king had no right to give orders to fire on the people assembled in the Carousel; that he certainly left such orders with the Swiss and others, when he left the chateau to go to the assembly; and for him to repel the people by force, or order them to be so repelled, when they came to present a petition, or remonstrate, is the greatest of all crimes, leze nation.—This doctrine is as new as absurd; that it was not received on the 10th, even by the most violent members of the national assembly, is evident; for M. Rhœderer, the procureur syndic of the department, in the account which he gave at the bar of the assembly, in the presence of the king, a little before the firing began, said, that he addressed the cannoniers, and the national guards within the castle, in these words.—'Messieurs, à Dieu ne plaise que nous demandions que vous versiez le sang de vos freres, que vous attaquiez vos concitoyens! Vos canons, messieurs, sont là pour votre défence: ils ne sont pas pour l'attaque: mais je requiers au nom de la loi, cette défense; je la requiers au nom du droit de votre constitution; je la requiers au nom de la sureté que la loi garantit à la maison devant laquelle vous êtes postes. La loi vous autorise, lorsque des violences seront exercées contre vous, à les repousser par une forte réaction. La loi vous autorise, lorsque vous serez à point d'être forcés dans votre poste, à le maintenir par la force; et encore une fois vous ne serez point assaillans, vous ne serez que sur la défensive.' *

* Gentlemen, Heaven forbid that we should require you to shed the blood of your brethren; that you should attack your fellow-citizens! Those cannon are there for your defence, and not for attacking others; but in the name of law I require *that* defence; I require it in the name of justice and of the constitution; I require it in the name of that safety which the law guarantees to the house before which you are posted. The law authorizes you, as often as violence is used against you, to repel it

This language, which is that of nature and common sense, was not blamed at the time it was held; and if Rhœderer had had the least idea that it would, he is not a man that would have held it; but it has been considered in a different light since, and M. Rhœderer has thought proper to abscond.

But had the king given direct orders to fire on those who threatened to force their way into his palace, he was not only justifiable on the principle of self-defence, but it was his duty to do so as soon as he was convinced they could be kept out by no other means, for he had sworn to defend the constitution: he himself was an essential part of the constitution; and therefore, independent of every consideration of self-defence as an individual, he was bound as king to act against the insurgents on the 10th of August.

September 2.

An incident of a singular nature took place yesterday.

Jean Julien, a poor waggoner of Vaugirard, was condemned to ten years hard labour, for I know not what crime. This man was placed on a scaffold in the Place de Grêve, with his hands tied behind, there to remain an hour, as a beginning of his punishment. Whether he was previously mad, or made desperate by so severe a sentence, I am not informed; but while he was in this situation, the populace crying *Vive la Nation!* the man exclaimed, Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! adding some indecent expressions regarding *la Nation*, prompted, in all probability, by rage and despair.

One could hardly imagine that a poor helpless wretch, in this deplorable state, could have provoked the resentment of any individual; and if it did, the punishment to which he was condemned might have been thought sufficient. It did not however satisfy le peuple souve-

with all your force. The law authorizes you, when you are in danger of being driven from your post, to maintain it by force; and still you will not be aggressors; you will be only acting on the defensive.

rain: the man was on the point of being torn to pieces; but *Manuel* prevented this, and promised that the offended majesty of the people should be avenged.

The offender was carried from the scaffold to prison, and soon after accused, before the tribunal which had tried the others, of this new crime. The sentence no doubt is in due form of law; it declares however what nobody of common sense can believe.—'Qu'il a existé une émeute populaire, ou sédition, le premier Septembre présent mois, tendante à exciter une guerre civile, par des cris de Vive le Roi, Vive la Reine, Vive M. de la Fayette! laquelle émeute ou sédition est une consequence naturelle de la conspiration qui a éclaté le 10 Aout dernier: que Jean Julien est convaincu des faits cidessus,' &c. *

He was then carried from the prison to the Carousel, and there beheaded.

It is not possible that the court could have believed that this waggoner intended to excite any sedition; what he said, was a mere rash retort on the mob, who insulted him in his misery. If *their* cry had been Vive le Roi et la Reine! *his* would have been Vive la Nation! It is plain therefore that he was condemned to die to please the people. It is hard to say who excite greater horror, those who order a man's head to be cut off, to please the people; or the people, who are pleased by such a spectacle.

Those who attend public executions, in consequence of a taste for such horrid sights, were a few days ago gratified with an after-piece, which was not announced.

On the 27th of August, three men were beheaded for forging assignats. After the execution, it is customary to hold up the head, that it may be seen by the spec-

* That a popular commotion or sedition existed on the 1st of September, tending to raise a civil war, by the cries of long live the king, the queen, M. la Fayette! which commotion or sedition is a natural consequence of the conspiracy which appeared on the 10th of August. That John Julien is guilty of the above, &c.

tators. In performing this ceremony, the son of the executioner approached too near the edge of the scaffold, fell over, and was killed on the spot before his father's eyes.

I was this morning passing the church of Saint Louis du Louvre, and being told that it was now frequented by a Protestant congregation, I immediately joined them.

To behold an assembly of Protestants worshipping God according to the forms of their own religion, in a Roman Catholic church, built on the spot where the massacre of St. Bartholomew began, and near that whence Charles IX fired, with his own hands, on his Protestant subjects, was not the least extraordinary thing I have had occasion to observe since I have been in France.

The original name of this church was St. Thomas du Louvre, and a painting of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, is still one of its ornaments. The roof falling into decay was renewed in the year 1740, when the church obtained the new name of St. Lewis, I know not for what reason, unless it was that the former was thought ominous; for beside the murder of the saint, whose name it originally bore, three of the prebendaries were crushed to death by the fall of the old roof in the year 1739.

The principal ornament of this church is the mausoleum of Cardinal Fleury, who is represented expiring in the arms of Religion. Lewis XV ordered this magnificent tomb to be erected in honour of his old preceptor and prime minister; but the monarch's affection abated as the expense increased, and became so cool before the work was finished, that it is thought the tomb would never have been completed, had not the duc de Fleury, and other relations of the family, joined in defraying the expense, and animating the artists. Thus what was begun by gratitude, was finished by vanity. I should be sorry to say that in general the latter is the most powerful motive for expenses of this nature; but let those who

wish to know, inquire of *sculptors* and of *painters* to which they are most obliged.

When I entered this church, I found it crowded with an audience of a very respectable and devout deportment.

The demeanour of the clergyman was of a piece with that of the audience. I inquired his name, and am sorry I have forgot it. His sermon was excellent, and gracefully delivered; he used more action than is common with English divines, but seemed free from affectation. He dwelt on the benevolent spirit of Christianity, and inculcated its precepts with a fervour that, I thought, proceeded from the heart. A patriotic form of prayer has been used in all the churches since the revolution; it refers to that event, and is affecting and well composed: this was the only thing the minister read. The king and royal family were included in it before the 10th of August: the only thing which displeased me during the service was, that, by order of the existing powers, they are now left out.—

The very circumstance of their being omitted, however, would bring them into the minds of the audience;* and those who felt the true import of the sermon they had just heard, I am convinced, did not omit mental petitions in favour of that most unfortunate family.

On a part of the wall of this church, where a saint formerly stood, is the following inscription.—

Le devoir d'un citoyen:
Adorer — Dieu.
Respecter — la Nation.
Obier — à la Loi.
Paix avec surveillance.
Liberté sans licence.
Egalité sans indécence.
C'est la véritable science.

The poetry of these lines is certainly not very admirable: it were much to be wished, however, for the happiness of France, that she could obtain what is expressed

* Præfulgebant Cassius atque Brutus, eo ipso, quod effigies eorum non visebantur. TACIT.

in the second: as for *science*, she had no natural business among them, and must have been dragged in by her unruly relation *indécence*.

When I went into the street, people were hurrying up and down with rapid steps and anxious faces; groups were formed at every corner: one told in general, that a courier had arrived with very bad news; another asserted, that Verdun had been betrayed like Longwy, and that the enemy were advancing: others shook their heads and said, it was the traitors within Paris, and not the declared enemies on the frontiers, that were to be feared.

In the national assembly M. Vergniaud, with his usual eloquence, endeavoured to check that alarm which had affected the citizens; his discourse was evidently addressed to the audience in the galleries. He said, the plan of the enemy was to leave the fortified towns behind them, and march with all possible speed to Paris; that this would be their ruin; the French army would follow; a body of 60,000 men from the capital would meet them; and that they must be surrounded, starved, and cut to pieces: but that to prevent any possibility of misfortune to Paris itself, the intrenchments around it must be completed; the zeal of the citizens must be stimulated: and he proposed that twelve members of the national assembly should be sent daily to encourage the labourers, not by vain discourses, but by their example; that those members should themselves take up the shovel and pick-axe, and work in the intrenchments. This was immediately decreed, and at the same time, that an army of 60,000 should be formed as soon as possible, and march to Chalons, while the inhabitants, who remained in the capital, should labour in the intrenchments.

The alarm is increased by the circumstantial account which is published, and carefully circulated, of the plan agreed upon by the emperor and king of Prussia, respecting the conduct of their troops during their march through France, and on their arrival at Paris.

According to those accounts, a great number of per-

sons of influence have given assurance of their being ready to join the invading army; but they are desired to remain in their particular provinces, where they will be of most service to the cause, and only join the army when they can do it with safety, and bring the friends they are now seducing with them; that detachments will be sent from the advancing army to facilitate those junctions; but that when the combined German troops should approach near to Paris, the French, under the prince de Condé, were to be left behind to protect the convoys, and keep the provinces in obedience; while the Germans blockaded Paris, which would soon be obliged, by famine, to surrender.

Immediately after this, the whole of the inhabitants were to be conducted to the plains of St. Denis, where the men were to be decimated and executed, with impartiality, on the spot; the most distinguished patriots having been previously selected, who were to be broken on the wheel: but that the women and children were to be spared, except forty or fifty poissardes, who would undergo the same death as the patriots, as a warning to the fair sex not to take any part in future revolutions.

These pretended accounts from Germany are evidently, I know not for what purpose, fabricated in Paris—they fill many people however with disquietude, and increase the general alarm.

One o'clock mid-day.

While I was writing, the cannon were fired, and the tocsin sounded. People rushed in to inform us,—'That the Prussian army had taken Chalons, and was in full march to Paris; that their hussars and light cavalry swept every thing before them, and were already within ten leagues of the gates of Paris.' When we stated the improbability of this, the answer was,—'That if there had been the least doubt, the municipality would not have ordered the cannon of alarm to be fired, nor the tocsin to be sounded.'

'What is become of Luckner's army? they would not allow hussars to pass them. The news cannot be true?'

'Why then would the cannon be fired, and the tocsin sounded?'

This mode of arguing I heard on all sides; and as nobody could give a good reason for the cannon being fired, and the tocsin sounded, it was concluded that the Prussians were within ten leagues, and every fresh report of a cannon, or toll of the tocsin, served to confirm them in that belief.

Five in the afternoon.

The most shocking crimes are at this moment perpetrating at the prison of the Abbaye, hard by the hotel in which I now write!—a thing unequalled in the records of wickedness!

The mob—they call them the people here—but they deserve no name by which any thing which has the least relation to human nature can be signified—a set of monsters have broken into the Abbaye, and are massacring all the prisoners!

Nine at night.

They have been at this shocking work during several hours—the Abbaye is quite full of prisoners; besides those that were there before, great numbers have been sent since the 10th of August; many on slight suspicions: many poor priests on no particular accusation, but merely because they are priests; many citizens, as I have been assured, have been arrested of late, and sent there, from the private hatred and revenge of some of the individuals who at present belong to the commune de Paris. But suppose there was the greatest reason to believe them all guilty, which it is impossible any body can, that would form no apology for this violation of justice, humanity, and public faith! A prison ought to be the most sacred of all asylums: there is more reason to consider the violation of it as impiety, and the height of wickedness, than that of

the church or altar; because in prison all who are accused of crimes, are detained till their guilt or innocence can be tried; they are, during this interval, under the safeguard of government, and the faith of the state. On the present occasion there is more reason than usual to suppose many innocent persons are among the prisoners, because they have been arrested in hurry and confusion, on slight surmises, and often it is probable, from private hatred. Yet, shocking to think of! they are making an undistinguished massacre of all.

Is this the work of a furious and deluded mob?

How come the citizens of this populous metropolis to remain passive spectators of so dreadful an outrage?

Is it possible that this is the accomplishment of a plan concerted two or three weeks ago; that those arbitrary arrests were ordered with this view; that false rumours of treasons, and intended insurrections and massacres, were spread to exasperate the people; and that, taking advantage of the rumours of bad news from the frontiers, orders have been issued for firing the cannon and sounding the tocsin, to increase the alarm, and terrify the public into acquiescence; while a band of chosen ruffians were hired to massacre those whom hatred, revenge, or fear had destined to destruction, but whom law and justice could not destroy?

It is now past twelve at mid-night, and the bloody work still goes on! Almighty God!

September 3.

The same horrid scenes which began yesterday afternoon, are still continuing at the Abbaye; are extended to the Hotel de la Force, la Conciergerie, la Chatelet, to all the prisons in Paris, and even the Bicetre, which is a league out of town.

One continued carnage goes on at them all. The people are told the following tale.—

'That there was a horrid plot, a combination between the duke of Brunswick and certain traitors in Paris; that

as soon as all the new levies were completed, and all the men intended for the frontiers had marched out of Paris, then those same traitors, who have been long concealed under the mask of patriotism, were to take the command of a large body of men, now dispersed over the capital and its environs, who have been long in the pay of the court, although they also are concealed; that those *concealed* leaders, at the head of their *concealed* troops, were to throw open the prisons, and to arm the prisoners; then to go to the Temple, set the royal family free, and proclaim the king; to condemn to death all the patriots who remain in Paris, and most of the wives and children of those who have marched out of it against the enemies of their country.'

This is the ridiculous tale which is circulated among the people, to justify the murders perpetrating in the prisons, to stimulate the populace to assist in them, or terrify them from opposition.

The strong impression made by the duke of Brunswick's manifesto, with the other causes of alarm, make the tale credited, and the massacre tolerated.

I was this very day told, that 'it is natural for men to secure their wives and children when they are going to be separated from them, and to use the most effectual means of preventing their being exposed to the daggers of assassins.'

An acquaintance informed me, that as he passed by the Abbaye, he had seen some prisoners killed, by being first knocked on the head, and then thrust through with pikes; and afterwards, that he saw several bodies dragged out and laid on a waggon. We were near the Abbaye when he gave me this account; and he added, that if I had any inclination, I might go there with safety. I entered with him into the street, and saw about two hundred people standing as spectators before the gate of the Abbaye; but as I drew nearer, I became so much affected with the idea of what was transacting, that I turned out of the street, with many others who seemed equally filled with horror.

But why then is it not resisted? Where is the minister of justice? Why is not the commander of the national guards ordered to march with an armed force to the prisons? Why are those murderers allowed to continue with as little interruption from the spectators, as the legal executioner who performs his office on a criminal condemned in the most regular manner?

A prodigious slaughter has also been made of the prisoners confined in the Hotel de la Force: one who gave me a shocking detail of this in the street, added, that the people, however, had mixed justice with their vengeance, for all the prisoners for debt and slight crimes, had either been previously separated from the rest, or spared by the people: and none but well-known criminals and traitors had suffered. The valet de place who was with me, and listened to our conversation, here put in his word.—Je vous l'ai bien dit, monsieur, le peuple est juste.* At that instant I saw a crowd at a distance; I was told that they were carrying the head of the princess Lamballe on a pike, and were dragging her body through the streets!

I turned from this very shocking sight, and went directly to call on M. Français, one of the deputies of the national assembly, with whom I am acquainted. I found him greatly concerned on account of the inhuman and disgraceful scenes that were acting. I told him we had already obtained passports from the section des quatres nations; but I understood that still we were in danger of being stopt at the barrier. I informed him also, that I had written to M. le Brun, the minister, on the subject, but wished M. Français to speak to him for an order, which might preclude any obstacle we might otherwise meet with at the barrier or the towns through which we were to pass. M. Français promised to speak to the minister accordingly.

In the evening I conversed with several who were at the Hotel de la Force when madame de Lamballe was

* I told you, sir, that the people are always just.

murdered. This unfortunate lady was in bed when she was summoned to appear before a kind of tribunal within the court of the prison, which they say was constituted by the people to try the prisoners.

The person who carried her the message, however, told her that it was intended to remove her to the Abbaye. She said, since she must be kept in prison, she was as well pleased with that she was in, as another; and being a little indisposed, wished to remain in bed.

She was then told that she must get up directly, to appear before the tribunal. She begged of those who brought this second message, who were two men in the uniform of the national guards, to retire till she was dressed, and she would attend them. They did so—and within a few minutes she was by them conducted before those pretended judges; it is said they wished to draw from her some matter of accusation against the queen. In this they were disappointed; but as there was no positive charge against herself, she was ordered to be removed, as is asserted by some, without any intention, on the part of these judges, that she should be murdered: what is certain is, that if they did not actually give the signal of death, they took no measure to save her; for, as she was conducted out of the prison, staggering with horror at the sight of the victims which had been sacrificed, she was struck on the head by the bludgeon of one assassin, and her head separated from her body by the sabre of another. The body then was dragged, by some of the wretches who flocked around, into an adjoining court, where after a series of indignities, of a nature not to be related, it was trailed by the mob through the streets. The head, being fixed on a pike, was carried to the Temple, for the express purpose of shocking the royal family, and the queen in particular, with a sight so dreadfully agonizing.—A new dictionary is needed to furnish words expressive of such unheard-of wickedness!

But this last was a refinement which cannot belong to the impetuous barbarity of a mob; it must have been

suggested by those who have studied cruelty as a science, and are acquainted with the most acute sources of anguish.

Those who had the guard of the royal family were at first afraid of violence being intended against them. The commissaries from the municipality met the multitude, harangued and tried every means to prevent their entering the court of the Temple—pointing to the national ribbon of three colours, which was drawn across the gate; they said it was hoped that patriots, such as they, would respect that patriotic barrier.

They read to them the following inscription which it bore.—

Citoyens, vous qui à une juste vengeance savez allier l'amour de l'ordre, respectez cette barriere. Elle est nécessaire à notre surveillance et à notre responsabilité.*

The directions under which those wretches acted, did not extend to the murder of the royal family, otherwise it is not probable they would have been restrained either by the patriotic ribbon, or their love of order.

One of them said, that no violence was intended against the prisoners in the Temple, but insisted that a few should be admitted into the court, to make a procession with the head before their windows, 'that those who had conspired to betray the country, might behold the fatal termination of their plots.'

The officers yielded to this inhuman proposal—two of them even went and advertised the royal family. The head was carried around the court, and immediately before the queen's window.

I understand she instantly fainted, and that the princess Elisabeth is also extremely ill.

The friendship which subsisted between her majesty and the princess de Lamballe was well known: this very friendship had prompted that unfortunate lady, after she herself was in safety, to return to France, and to the

* Citizens, you who to a just vengeance join a love of order, respect this barrier. It is necessary for our justification.

queen, whose disagreeable situation required the consolation of a friend's company. This generous friendship seems to have been the sole cause of Madame de Lamballe's murder; for Madame de Tourzelle, her daughter, and other ladies who were in the Hotel de la Force, were spared. The degree of rancour which those wretches display against the queen, is as violent as it is unaccountable. After murdering her friend, merely because she was her friend, they are not satisfied with letting her know that the afflicting event had taken place, but must also wring her heart with the most cruel of all spectacles!

From the Temple, Madame de Lamballe's head was carried to the Palais Royal, so as to be recognised by those within. I have since conversed with some persons who were there at the time.

Although the princess Lamballe was a near connection of the proprietor of this palace, I do not understand that the shock which the sight occasioned endangers his health.

The news of those massacres having been carried to the Bicetre, where there are a great number of wretched people confined, they prepared to make resistance; and I understand that several pieces of cannon are to be carried there, to make sure of slaughtering them with safety to the assassins. The accounts are so various and contradictory, that nothing with regard to the number killed, and many other particulars, can be depended upon. I shall endeavour to be informed hereafter in many circumstances, of which I have but vague and uncertain notions at present.

Scenes have been acted since the beginning of the French revolution, particularly on the 10th of August, and those still more horrid now performing, which are of a nature to make the warmest lover of liberty reflect very long, and weigh every circumstance, before he engages in a scheme of oversetting or altering the established government of any country where law and order have a considerable, though an imperfect, influence.

This reflection does not apply to those happy political

constitutions which include within them the safe, regular, and legal means of redressing such abuses and inconveniences as an alteration of circumstances must produce in the very best system of government. The great advantage of a constitution thus admirably contrived, is, that it possesses such salutary means of redress. Those remedies, however, are not to be applied wantonly, or when there is no occasion for any remedy—but if we are told they are never to be applied at all, then I confess I can see nothing very admirable in having such resources as part of the constitution—the machine of government would have been more simple by leaving them out.

When the means proposed is *insurrection*, the case is different; and independent of personal considerations, every benevolent man will deliberate with much attention before he adopts measures which involve the happiness and misery of thousands of his countrymen.

In such an abominable system of oppression as the French laboured under before the revolution, where one large cast of men were exempted from taxation, and, without being themselves free, practised various methods of oppressing their more enslaved fellow-subjects—where another class possessed a prodigious proportion of the whole lands of the country, so unfairly divided that, in general, those who seldom performed any function of their profession, were rewarded with an exorbitant share, while those who diligently executed all its duties were in a state of abject poverty—where the will of one man could controul the course of law, and his mandate tear any citizen from the arms of his family, and throw him into a dungeon for years, or for life.

In a country where such a system of government prevails, insurrection, being the sole means of redress, is not only justifiable, but it is the duty of every lover of mankind and of his country, as soon as any occasion presents itself which promises success.

The necessity of a total change of government in France will be acknowledged; and the revolution that was begun

in the year 1789 will be approved of by many, who will condemn the transactions of the 20th of June, and the 10th of August last, as unjust and inexpedient.

To pour a mob into the king's palace, on purpose to terrify him from exercising a negative which the constitution had given him; and left entirely to his own discretion, was assuredly most unjustifiable; and to slaughter his guards, suspend his authority, and imprison him and his whole family, because the guards opposed a second irruption of the mob into the palace, I fancy will hardly be approved by any impartial man, or justified by all the treachery which the papers found in his cabinet on the 10th of August will disclose.

Lewis XVI was never considered as an unprincipled man, or a man of inordinate ambition. I cannot help thinking that he was satisfied with the constitution, and, as he is a man of piety, would never have thought of breaking his oaths by undermining it.

But those men, whoever they are, who instigated the massacres, have fixed indelible stains on their country, and in all probability have involved it in lasting disorder and misery.

The means they have employed to strike terror, to attain power, and by which they expect to keep it, is the populace; but this is an engine which often turns against those who undertake to direct it, and which neither they nor any others can always controul. As well may they say to the ocean in a storm, Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.—And should these bloody instigators go no farther, gracious heaven! what dreadful lengths have they not already gone! what advantage in point of government can France expect, what revolution is not dearly bought at the expense of the national stain, of the unprecedented horrors of last night, and this infamous 3d of September?

Chantilly, Sept. 4.

We were informed this morning, that the barriers were

still shut, and nobody allowed to leave Paris: however, having received a letter from M. le Brun, besides the passports from our section, we resolved to attempt it. Two persons belonging to our section, one of them in the national uniform, accompanied us. We were allowed to pass without difficulty, though our passports were examined at different places before we arrived here.

Our intention was to have proceeded this day to Clermont; but being informed that a large body of Bretons, who are marching to join the armies on the frontiers, are to pass this night at Clermont, we think it expedient to remain where we are.

A party of national guards, detached by orders of the commune de Paris, have been here; they only left Chantilly this morning: they carried with them, in waggons, a vast quantity of stuff proper for soldiers tents which was at this place. A party that was here sometime ago, but since the 10th of August, carried away all the horses of every kind which remained in the stables, also a statue of Lewis XIV that was within the castle. They also overset and broke in pieces the fine figures which ornamented the front of the magnificent stables: they treated in the same manner the equestrian statue of Henry Montmorency, constable of France in the time of Henry IV. The materials of those, being metal, were carried by the same party in waggons to Paris. They had the brutality, before they set out, to knock off the head of the beautiful pedestrian statue of the great Condé, which stood in the grand staircase of the castle. It is probable that those patriots were not enough versed in the history of their country to know that he had at one period of his life carried arms against his king; otherwise their hatred of the original, as a Bourbon, being qualified by their veneration for him as a rebel, might have saved the head of the statue.—Had their historical knowledge extended a little farther back, they might have had more sympathy for the old constable also; for it is certain that he was so very illiterate that he could not read.—Brantome says, that he

always signed with a mark; and Henry IV used to say, 'Avec mon connétable qui ne sait pas lire, et mon chancelier que ne sait pas le Latin, il n'est rien que je n'entreprenne avec succés.' *

It is impossible to pass the mutilated statue of Condé without a sentiment of indignation against men who could manifest their rage in this despicable manner against one of the most distinguished characters their country ever produced.

The superior genius of Condé appeared in irregular flashes in his early youth, shone in full lustre in the fields of war during his maturer years, and threw a long beam of milder light on his old age. When retired from the bustle of the world, he cultivated the conversation of men of letters; and, by his own taste, assisted by that of the first artists, he rendered Chantilly at once the most magnificent and most delightful place in France.

The following verses were inscribed beneath the statue of Condé.—

> Quem modò pallebant, fugitivis fluctibus amnes,
> Terribilem bello, nunc docta otia princeps
> Pacis amans, lætos dat hortis ludere fontes.

I said to the man who shewed us the apartments of the castle, that I had never seen Chantilly dans un si triste état.† Aussi, monsieur, answered he with a sigh, n'a-t-il jamais été si triste. ‡

Although an Englishman has lately established an inn near this, we have stopped and shall sleep at the French one, close by the castle. The people here being mostly old servants of the prince, melancholy is evidently marked on all their faces; on hinting at the sad scenes which have taken place at Paris, they throw up their eyes, shake their heads, and hold their tongues.

Whether those dreadful scenes are to be imputed to the

* With my constable who cannot read, and my chancellor who does not understand Latin, there is nothing which I do not undertake with success.

† In so sad a state.

‡ Neither was it ever so sad.

blind fury of a multitude driven to madness by an accumulation of alarming circumstances, or to a few mercenary actors hired to serve the vengeful or ambitious views of some invisible agents, I cannot yet determine; it is certainly difficult to imagine how six or seven hundred thousand people should permit two or three hundred assassins to commit such acts of atrocity before their eyes, unless they approved of what they saw.—Why did not the national assembly, instead of sending deputations of six or eight of their number, go in a body to protect the prisoners?—They never can do a more important duty, nor one in which the honour of their country is more concerned. Those who respected the national ribbon, would assuredly have respected the national assembly; or, if the assassins had been otherwise disposed, since they were but two or three hundred, the assembly would have overpowered them.

This proves that the assembly thought that it was not a handful of ruffians, but a large body of the people, who were engaged in this horrid work;—but even in that case, it may be asked why did not they send for *Santerre*, the commander of the national guards, and order him to march with all the men under his command to the protection of the prisons?

I was told this morning before we left Paris, that M. Roland, the minister, sent repeated messages to Santerre without effect: how he will account for this I know not. As for a great number of the members of the assembly, they were certainly under the influence of terror: Brissot, one of their own body, had been accused, and his papers examined; many might be conscious that, in the same circumstances, they would not have been able to clear themselves so completely as he did, for Brissot has long been thought a republican, and I fancy on good grounds—his writings breathed that spirit long before the 10th of August.—Brissot's accuser was no less a man than Robespierre; and the crime of which he was accused was that of being bought by the duke of Brunswick. The

accusation was supported by mere assertion and declamation, which I am told are the usual proofs in which Robespierre deals; but he expected that Brissot would have been assassinated—in which case proofs were superfluous. Since a republican like Brissot was exposed to such danger, it was natural for others, particularly all who voted on the 7th of August in favour of La Fayette, to be under apprehensions, which probably prevented their exerting themselves with all the vigour they wished in defence of the prisoners. With regard to the citizens of Paris, I certainly observed nothing like a disposition in them to destroy the prisoners; on the contrary, wherever I went, I found people lamenting their fate—but at the same time alarmed with the accounts from the frontiers, with the firing of the cannon and sounding the tocsin, and, above all, terrified at stories of conspiracies, and at the sight of the band of assassins, who, followed by some of the lowest rabble, went from prison to prison.

There is the strongest reason to believe, that the national assembly have not deliberated in perfect security and freedom since the 10th of August, and that the unanimity which has appeared on some important occasions since is produced by fear more than conviction.

I myself am a witness, that the same men who were diametrically opposite in sentiments on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of August, seemed of the same way of thinking for some time after the 10th.

Although the court certainly had a majority of the assembly with them on my first arrival, yet even then the majority was exposed to the rudest insults from the people for declaring their sentiments. On the 8th, when M. Vaublanc, after a very excellent speech, proposed the previous question to the decree of accusation against M. La Fayette, he was hooted and exclaimed against by the audience in the gallery, and, as has been mentioned, narrowly escaped assassination when he returned from the assembly home.

However determined and fearless some individuals among them were, the generality cannot be supposed to have delivered or spoken their sentiments with freedom afterwards, especially as their own colleagues, who formed the minority, seemed very well pleased when they were thus insulted.

It is however worthy of being remarked, that notwithstanding the ill-humour and seditious expressions of a few members, yet, on the morning of the 10th, when the king and royal family came to the assembly, they were received in a respectful manner; at that time it was not known how the contest expected at the Tuilleries was to terminate; and if, by an extraordinary accident, it had ended in favour of those who defended the palace, then the respect for the king would have been continued, and probably increased. What is most certain is, that as soon as it was known that the Swiss fled, *then* all appearance of respect for the royal family ceased, and the whole assembly *seemed* to rejoice at the victory.—The oath of egalité was no sooner proposed, than all the members started up as if they had been moved with one spring, and took it.—No German regiment, however severely exercised by the cane, however expert in military jerk, could have made a more instantaneous and uniform movement.

The suspension of the king's authority was decreed with more deliberation, but equal unanimity; yet not till after it was known that the Swiss and all the defenders of the castle were massacred or fled. The populace, of themselves, or, what is more probable, by the direction of those who, without appearing, have directed the principal movements of the revolt, began, on the 11th of August, to overset and break in pieces the statues of the kings which adorned the public places of Paris; and *then*, but not before, the national assembly decreed that those statues and every symbol of royalty should be destroyed.

Every transaction and decree of the national assembly, I strongly suspect, has been in some measure influenced by that general council which was elected by the sections

on the night of the 9th of August while the tocsin was sounding, a deputation from which, immediately after the action of the 10th, appeared at the bar; declared that they considered themselves as accountable to the primary assemblies of the French nation only; bullied the national assembly into whatever they proposed, and have by their agents kept it under terror ever since. This council, of their own authority, ordered the barriers to be shut, issued mandates for arresting a prodigious number of citizens, and filled the prisons with those victims who began to be sacrificed on the 2d of this month, and of whom, how painful the thought! the slaughter perhaps still continues.

The popular Robespierre, who was a member of the constituent assembly, and it is thought will be one of the very first elected for the convention, belongs also to this general council of the commune de Paris.

As he has been considered as the leading member of the Jacobin society, and is distinguished by his great popularity, it surprised many when he offered to become a member of the general council, and it impressed an idea that this body intended to assume the exercise of more important functions than ever.

But he was not heard of on the 10th of August, nor did he present himself to the commune till two or three days after;—for although he is a patriot of the first eminence, and a most undaunted haranguer and disputant in popular assemblies; yet he is thought rather to be inclined to shun such contests as that which was carried on in the square of the Carousel on the 10th of August.

In person Robespierre is certainly not an Ajax, although he is thought to agree with that hero in one sentiment.—

> Tutius est fictis igitur contendere verbis,
> Quam pugnare manu.

Few men however can *look* fiercer than Robespierre; in countenance he has a striking resemblance to a cat-tiger.

Marat is likewise a very active member of the general council of the commune.—This Marat is said to love car-

nage like a vulture, and to delight in human sacrifices like Moloch god of the Ammonites.

Amiens, Sept. 5.

We left Chantilly early this morning, and breakfasted at Clermont. The Bretons, whom we heard of, were still at that place; about four thousand men from the province of Brittany have passed through Clermont within this week; they march in detachments. The party we saw consisted of 600, and are to leave Clermont to-morrow.—They are stout young men, in high spirits, zealous for the service, but without arms, and undisciplined.

To think of opposing those raw youths to the veteran troops of Austria or Prussia, is sending them to certain slaughter:—they themselves, however, have no ideas of that nature, and are only impatient for their arms, and to see the enemy. The gaiety of those thoughtless young men made me melancholy; I could not help considering them as victims doomed to inevitable destruction.—Before we left Clermont, however, I heard something which tended to abate the interest I took in them.

Yesterday a man who sells fish at Clermont, had a dispute with some of the Bretons; he was imprudent enough to provoke them by abusive language, which included the whole detachment: they threatened to put the man to death—for death is the only punishment in the penal code of a French mob for all sort of offences—an English mob seldom go beyond ducking. They were proceeding to execute the sentence already pronounced: one of the magistrates stepped in, crying, 'Arrêtez, messieurs, s'il vous plait—que diable on ne tue pas un homme comme ça!' * He promised that the Bretons should have justice done them, and they consented that the man who had insulted them should be carried to the town-guard, till the offence should be legally examined and redressed. The officer of

* Hold, gentlemen, if you please—a man is not to be put to death with so little ceremony.

the guard, either through negligence or design, allowed the prisoner to escape. The Bretons were so enraged at this that they threatened the life of the officer, who immediately absconded. Not being able to wreak their vengeance on him, they talked of setting fire to the town, if either the prisoner or the officer of the town-guard was not found and punished. Twenty men were detached on horseback, by the magistrates, all over the country in search of the fish-monger—he was found at ten leagues distance from Clermont, and brought back prisoner; his guard imagining, that, at the utmost, he would be obliged to pay a small fine, and make an apology to those he had offended: a party of the Bretons forced the guard as they entered Clermont, and cut off the head of the prisoner.

Having some conversation, as we passed on our way to Paris, with a citizen of Clermont, and meeting the same person standing before the inn this day, I renewed my acquaintance with him, and he gave me the foregoing account. Several other citizens stood by while he made the recapitulation—C'est affreux! said one—C'est horrible! said another—C'est sans contredit un homme de moins! * said a third, taking a pinch of snuff.

The whole transaction, however, is very shocking!

How is it to be accounted for? Had the same thing happened at Paris, it would have been said, the Parisians have been accustomed to scenes of blood, and are become sanguinary.—But here is a wanton murder, committed by a set of peasants who inhabit the country at a distance from the wickedness of large cities. Power, unlimited power, is sufficient to pervert the best disposition.—These peasants perceive, that they are under little or no controul; that the inhabitants of the villages, through which they pass, fear them, and that they can give vent to their passions with impunity. In short, they are in possession of power; and therefore, like others in the

* It is frightful! said one—It is shocking! said another—It is undoubtedly one man less in the world! said a third, &c.

same situation, they indulge every incitement of caprice or passion, which in other circumstances they would have suppressed. No man who wishes to continue virtuous, would accept of the power of injuring his neighbours with impunity, were it offered him. No government, which values the general happiness, will permit the least privilege of this kind in any of its classes. The time has been in France, when a prince of the blood, or any man of high rank, could have run a fisherman through the body for abusive language, with as much impunity as those Bretons will meet with for the murder of the poor man of Clermont. But if power were to continue in the hands of peasants, things would be worse than ever; and, notwithstanding all the injustice and oppression of the old government, France would be a loser by the revolution.

Amiens, Sept. 6.

We remained this day at Amiens: I walked to the cathedral, which is a building of great antiquity, and is equal in magnificence to any in France. At a large table, immediately before the pulpit, several officers of the municipality sat, and were employed in inrolling volunteers for the frontiers—a man went up to the pulpit, and read aloud a list of the names of those persons who had sent patriotic gifts for the equipment of the volunteers; annexed to the name was the sum each gave. Notwithstanding all the genuine public spirit that prevails at present in France, this manner of proclaiming every donation, no doubt, is necessary to awake the liberality of many. A young man of a very prepossessing appearance ascending the pulpit when the other came down. In a distinct voice, and with a modest air, he spoke to the following effect.—' I am one of a company, ready to march against the enemies of our country; after clothing and arming ourselves at our own expense, we also offer a small pittance in money towards defraying that of the public; all we can afford is a trifle; but our lives, which we de-

vote to the service of our country, will be considered of more importance.—When I speak of sacrificing our own lives, I am instructed by my companions to declare, that we expect to be able to sacrifice the lives of those slaves who, without any animosity to us, are obliged by their tyrants to march against France, because its inhabitants are resolved to be free. Many of us have parents and relations who depend for their maintenance on our industry; we recommend them to the humanity and gratitude of our fellow-citizens.'

He descended amidst the applause of the audience; and I must acknowledge that I have heard in other countries, as well as in France, many discourses from the pulpit less interesting than this.

Amidst the disorders and sad events which have taken place in this country of late, it is impossible not to admire the generous spirit which glows all over the nation in support of its independency. Before I left Paris, I heard of a lady who had offered to the national assembly, to take twelve poor children, whose parents died in defence of their country, and to be at the whole expense of educating and supporting them to the age of sixteen! I have heard of many similar instances! No country ever displayed a nobler or more patriotic enthusiasm than pervades France at this period, and which glows with increasing ardour since the publication of the duke of Brunswick's manifesto, and the entrance of the Prussians into the country.—None but those whose minds are obscured by prejudice, or perverted by selfishness, will refuse this justice to the general spirit displayed by the French in defence of their national independence. A detestation of the excesses committed at Paris, and against the savage demagogues, who sacrifice the honour and tranquillity of their country to ambition and revenge, not only is compatible with an admiration of this spirit; but it is such well-formed minds alone as possess sufficient candour and sensibility to admire the one, who can have a due horror of the other.

What have those citizens, flocking from every province of this extensive kingdom, spontaneously undergoing all the fatigues, and exposing themselves to all the dangers of war, in defence of their country; what have such citizens in common with assassins? Or those others, whose sex, or age, or infirmities confine them at home, but who lavish their fortunes in the same generous cause—what have they in common with persecutors, vile informers, and false accusers? Superior to political and national prejudices, a generous Englishman will discriminate with candour—he will envy freedom to no nation; he will praise that public spirit in another people which warms his own breast, and which he admires in his own countrymen; he will not rejoice in the calamities of France, and wish so many millions of his fellow-creatures to be again forced under the yoke of despotism, merely because France has formerly been at war with Great Britain.

But France may be at war with Great Britain again.

If that should happen, France will then be the enemy of Great Britain, and every true British subject will be the enemy of France, and do all in his sphere to subdue and bring her to reason.

But, in the meantime, should a band of wicked men acquire undue influence with the people of France by zealous pretensions to patriotism; or should the expected national assembly itself, through folly, ambition, or barbarity, or by a combination of all the three, blast the hopes of a free constitution, and ruin the happiness of their country, still the cause for which the revolution was undertaken remains the best in which men can engage; the folly, ambition, and barbarity of individuals may consign their own names to the execration of mankind, but cannot diminish the intrinsic value of freedom.

It is, however, when the cause of liberty is in danger of being dishonoured by some who pretend to be its supporters, that those who have a just sense of the blessings it confers will avow their sentiments, and refuse to join the undiscerning herd, who turn that indignation, which

is due to the wretches who disgrace the cause of freedom, against freedom itself. It is at such times that their avowed attachment is of most importance, because it is then only that, in a free country, the interested votaries of power dare to preach their slavish doctrines.

There was no need to inculcate the value of liberty, when the tyranny of Lewis XIV was dragooning his subjects out of their country, or shutting them up in dungeons, or chaining them to oars; the example of such atrocious deeds rendered precept superfluous. But when shocking crimes are perpetrated under the banners of liberty, by the tools of despotism, it is then necessary to vindicate the purity of the one from the guilt of the other.

Before I left Paris, I heard a person who was filled with indignation at the recital of the horrors then committing, cry,—'D—n liberty, I abhor its very name!'—The indignation was just; but surely it was ill directed.

If he had been hearing a recital of the cruelties which have been exercised on various occasions under the pretext of zeal for the Christian religion, whose essence is mercy and good-will to man, he might with equal justice and discernment have said,—'D—n the Christian religion, I abhore its very name!'

No dispassionate man will deny that liberty in the abstract is good; yet it becomes a blessing in society only as restrained by just laws, and combined with government: men of the best characters, who are equally the friends of liberty, will differ with regard to the mode of this combination.

From the effects it has hitherto produced, few will admire that which has existed in France since the 10th of August: but whatever horror we may feel at the crimes of ambitious, unprincipled individuals, the candid will approve of the spirit of the people in defence of their national independency; and the benevolent will wish that it may be rewarded with the blessing of a free and well-regulated government.

With respect to those with whom sentiments of general benevolence have little effect, it may be useful to remind

them, that the prosperity of England, as a commercial country; suffers by the misery of France

Flexcourt, Sept. 7.

We intended to have left Amiens early this morning, and ordered post-horses accordingly—the postmaster detained us by pretending he had no postillion: we afterwards found that he had furnished horses and postillions to others, and detained us under frivolous and false pretexts. The only reason I could imagine for this preference was, that instead of going to the post-house we had driven to another inn. Understanding that there were two commissaries from the national assembly at Amiens, we made a complaint to them of the postmaster:—they directly ordered a corporal and four of the national guards to bring the postmaster before them. They told him it was his duty to have postillions ready for the use of travellers: they accused him of serving others who came after we had ordered horses, and said, it was his duty to be impartial; but if favour was to be shewn, it ought to be to strangers, and particularly to the English, a people for whom they had a great esteem, and whom they considered as their friends. Without listening to the man's explanations, they threatened to send him to prison if he did not provide us with horses and postillions directly. After abusing and threatening the man a great deal, one of the commissioners said, Eh bien, l'ami, you will provide the gentlemen with what they want: will you not? The postmaster said he would do his best; on which, by an instantaneous transition from every appearance of anger, assuming a conciliatory countenance and accent, he filled a tumbler full of Burgundy to the postmaster, and desired him to drink à la nation, and dismissed him.—We had the postillions and horses a few minutes after.

I went last night to the playhouse at Amiens.—The house is commodious, the play was well acted, and the audience numerous; they seemed highly pleased with their entertainment.—I am astonished at the mirth and gaiety

which the French display at all public places, in the present state of the country: had I come into Amiens without any previous knowledge of the circumstances in which France at present is, I should not have had the least suspicion, from the appearance of the inhabitants in the street, and still less at public places, that they were threatened with any danger or calamity.

A little before we left Amiens, accounts were received that the inhabitants of a village within a few leagues of that town were in a state of insurrection:—Three hundred and fifty of the national guards, and two hundred dragoons, were ordered by the commissioners to march against the villagers, who it was understood were prepared for resistance. The troops were drawn up and ready to march when we left Amiens. I had some conversation with one of the officers: I remarked, that they were going on a disagreeable service.—He answered, that its being disagreeable did not proceed from the danger, because he was convinced the peasants would submit as soon as the troops appeared—but he was sure that it would be more agreeable to the whole party to be sent against the Prussians.

It was so late in the afternoon before we left Amiens, that we shall pass the night at this place: we were a good deal retarded on the road by a coach with four horses which we overtook, but were not allowed to pass. By the ordinance respecting posting, cabriolets or chaises with three horses each cannot pass a coach with four: this appears an absurd regulation: on my speaking of it at the inn here, the landlord said, that it was ordained under a severe penalty, and therefore strictly adhered to, unless those in the coach desired it to be dispensed with. On this a genteel-looking elderly man came up, and assured me that he did not know of our being retarded by his carriage, otherwise he should certainly have desired his postillion to let us pass.

This gentleman remains all night at Flexcourt also: I had some conversation with him apart—he spoke with

great horror of what lately happened at Paris, and expressed surprise that strangers, especially Englishmen, could bear to be in France at present. Yours is a happy country, added he; you enjoy freedom without anarchy. I said, that I hoped that his country would attain the same blessing, and that the troubles of France were near an end. There is more reason to fear, resumed he with earnestness, that they are but beginning. The people are misled; they have been taught dangerous maxims, which it will be very difficult to reduce them to relinquish. Every thing is pushed to excess, so that the remedy of certain evils has become worse than the evil itself. The people of France were tyrannized over; to remedy which they are now made tyrants. I myself, continued he, heard some members of the national assembly reason with a set of the populace, to persuade them not to persist in an outrage against which there was a decree of the assembly, and to prove to them that they ought to obey the dictates of the supreme court of the nation. What do you think was the answer of one of the crowd to this remonstrance? 'The national assembly ought rather to obey our dictates, since they are only the *representatives* of the people, whereas we are the *people* ourselves.' This shews, added the gentleman, in what a dreadful state we are;—a set of villains mislead the people, and, by the means of the people, domineer over the national assembly: this will be the ruin of France, continued he, and not the army of Brunswick.

I mentioned the Bretons and other troops I had seen going to reinforce their army, and hinted that their want of discipline would give the enemy a great advantage over them. 'Many of my countrymen will be destroyed undoubtedly,' answered he, 'but others will press on in their place; courage and impetuosity will overpower discipline; and, believe me, France has nothing to fear from foreign enemies, but every thing from internal discord and villany.' This idea I find universal among the French: those who approve of the revolution, expect that

France will soon enjoy more power and prosperity than ever; those who disapprove of it, lament the disorder under which their country suffers, but still think the foreign armies will be baffled.

Abbéville, Sept. 8.

I was informed by the landlord of the inn at Flexcourt, that the gentleman with whom I conversed last night had set out very early this morning. The business of this inn is carried on by the landlady and her two daughters, the landlord being a gossiping fat man, who does nothing; and is harmless in all respects, except that he is eternally in the way, and teases the guests a good deal with his conversation.

After he had told me that the gentleman was gone, that he lived at some leagues distance, that he had known him long, and that he was a very good kind of man, he drew me a little aside, and added,—'C'est un fier aristocrate; mais je me suis fait un principe de ne le dire à qui que ce soit au monde, parceque cela pouvoit lui occasioner quelque malheur—et vraiment c'est un digne homme, et mon ami de tout temps.' * I was going away, but he held me a little by the sleeve, and added,—'Surtout, n'en dites rien à ma femme, parce qu'elle est une democrate enragée, et qu'il lui est impossible de garder un secret.' †

No, no, said I.

'Oh jamais!' continued the landlord, 'si elle sçavoit une fois, elle ne pourroit s'empêcher de le dire au premier passant.' ‡

On arriving at the gates of this town, we were conducted to the town-house by one of the national guards. Some of the magistrates were there, who, having examined our

* He is a great aristocrate; but I make it a rule never to mention this to any body, as it might bring him to trouble; for he is a worthy man, and has always been a good friend to me.

† Above all, say nothing of this to my wife, because she is a violent democrate, and, besides, never could keep a secret.

‡ Never—If she knew it, she would tell it to the first stranger who arrives.

passports, behaved with great civility, and asked many questions regarding the state of affairs at Paris. The election for the conventional assembly is carrying on at present in this town. A great many of the electors live at the inn in which we are: of thirteen members to be chosen here, six are already elected. One of the electors told me, that they once had thoughts of electing Mr. Thomas Paine as one of the deputies of this department; but they had dropped that idea on hearing that he was already elected for the departments of the Pas de Calais, and that of l'Oise.

Abbeville, Sept. 9.

As the elections are carrying on, we remain here. I went yesterday and to-day to the church, where the election is made by ballot. One deputy was chosen yesterday, and another this morning very early. One of the electors, who accompanied me from the inn, told me, that a considerable number had lost their votes by coming too late, by which means a man who was *par état un cultivateur* was elected that very day. This profession of a farmer is becoming more respectable every day in France; and if they ever should enjoy a well-established free government, the nation will be full of yeomanry. I asked of my informer, what kind of man this cultivateur was? He answered, that he was a very worthy man, with plain sound sense, although his understanding had not been so much enlightened by learning as that of his opponent, who was a lawyer; but, added he,—'Peut-être il n'y a rien à regretter, car l'intégrité vaut bien la litérature pour un législateur.' *

This town makes rather a gayer appearance than usual; the election of deputies for the conventional assembly has attracted a great number of strangers. I hardly remember to have seen the streets of any provincial town of France so much crowded, except on some festival day,

* Perhaps there is no reason to be sorry for this, because integrity is full as valuable as learning in a legislator.

as those of Abbéville are at present; nor did I ever see the lower orders in any town seem more at their ease, or in general better dressed. Abbéville is a manufacturing town, and most of the tradesmen are able to purchase the national guard uniform: the country people who frequent the markets here, seem remarkably clean and healthy. I do not know how it happens, but the female part of the French peasantry dress not only with neatness, but a kind of elegance; while the dress of the males is the most formal, clumsy, unbecoming thing in the world.—That woman should dress with more taste and fancy than men, is natural; but why this should appear in a greater degree among one class or one particular nation than in others, I know no reason. This is evidently not the case in England.

What will disturb the gaiety of this town, and fill the breasts of many with fear and inquietude, is the departure of five hundred of the inhabitants for Chalons, which is to happen to-morrow; these form a band of fine-looking young men, all well clothed and well armed; they have been embodied for some time, and seem expert at the usual manœuvres of military exercise;—but the chief quality, and that which must be most depended on in those who are marching from every part of France against the foreign enemy, is that active enthusiastic ardour with which they are all inflamed.

As I was walking with my son this day on the ramparts, we overtook a person, with whom I entered into conversation. He informed me that he was a Protestant; that he lived at some leagues distance from Abbéville, and was now here in the quality of an elector. I spoke to him of the universal spirit which pervaded the country, and the numbers coming from all corners to fight in its defence, which, I added, left little doubt of the enemy's being ultimately repulsed.

'If the Almighty (replied he) takes the part of France, the enemy will undoubtedly be repulsed with loss and disgrace; but if he is otherwise inclined, the number and

bravery of our armies will be of little avail. It is not,' continued he, 'the Prussians, or Austrians, or Russians, —no—nor all the combined powers of Europe that we have to fear, but the displeasure of God, on account of our neglect of religious duties.'—He added, with a sigh, 'that this neglect had arrived at a most alarming height in France of late.' There was no denying the first clause of his observation, and I had no inclination to dispute the second: however, I said that it afforded me pleasure to find that the Protestants were so much better treated now than formerly.—'It is fortunate for us Protestants (he replied) that we are not persecuted as we were in former times; but it is unfortunate for all France, that, along with the spirit of persecution, that of religion daily diminishes.'

I observed that, as nothing could be more opposite to true religion than a spirit of persecution, the former, it was to be hoped, would return without the latter; but, in the meantime, the Protestants were happy in not only being tolerated in the exercise of their religion, but also on being rendered capable of enjoying every privilege and advantage which the Catholics themselves enjoy.

'We are not allowed those advantages (resumed he) from any regard they bear to our religion, but from a total indifference for their own.'

Whatever the cause may be, said I, the effect is the same with regard to you.

No, replied he; the effect might be better not only with respect to us, but to all France, for the spirit of persecution might have disappeared without an indifference for all religion coming in its place; and in that case there would have been more probability of the true religion gaining ground; for it is easier to draw men from an erroneous doctrine to a true one, than to impress the truths of religion on minds which despise all religion whatever.

But although you may not be able to make them converts, I replied, still you may live happy among them, in

the quiet possession of your own religion, and all your other advantages.

I doubt it much, resumed he; being persuaded that, in a country where religious sentiments are effaced from the minds of the bulk of the people, crimes of the deepest guilt will prevail in spite of all the restraints of law.

It is a pretty general opinion, and has been much insisted on, and variously illustrated by the philosophers of this century, that religious zeal instigates men to more exorbitant acts of cruelty and injustice than any other motive.

I was reflecting on this, after parting with my Protestant acquaintance, when, by accounts from Paris, I learned, that, on the very morning of the day on which we left that city, above two hundred priests who refused to take the oaths (prêtres refractaires), and were confined in the convent of the Carmes—it is shocking to relate—but I am assured that there was considerably above two hundred of those poor men inhumanly massacred within the walls of that convent. M. Sicard, the celebrated instructor of the deaf and dumb, was the only person saved, and he by the active and intrepid efforts of a M. Monnot.

Nobody will pretend that these horrid massacres proceeded from religious zeal; those poor priests were the ministers of the same religion with their assassins. What can the records of religious prosecutions present more atrocious? Other motives, then, can instigate men to as exorbitant acts of cruelty and injustice, as a mistaken zeal for religion ever did.

A mob of fanatics may be instigated to murder those whom they believe to be the enemies of God and of religion, but will refuse to assassinate their fellow-creatures in any other cause. A mob, devoid of religious impressions, may be instigated to murder, in any cause where their interest is concerned, when they think they can do it with safety; and it cannot be doubted, that if religious sentiments had kept any hold of the minds of the direct-

ors or executors of the late massacres at Paris, they never would have been either the one or the other.

In the present times, therefore, when all idea of persecuting men on account of a difference of religion is banished from Europe, I am persuaded that promoting a sense of religion in the minds of the people at large, would be less liable than ever to be perverted into wicked purposes, and, of course, more beneficial to general society.

Boulogne, Sept. 10.

This morning, a little before we quitted Abbéville, a very singular incident occurred in the church where the deputies were elected. A lady of that town had, sometime since, sent a liberal patriotic gift to the national assembly; she was much praised for this act, which made a great impression on one elector in particular. What this gentleman most admired in human nature, was the art of composing verses, and the quality of generosity; he had a higher relish for the first in himself than in others, whereas the second delighted him more in others than in himself.

He composed a poem in praise of the lady above mentioned, wherein he enumerated all her virtues, and insisted particularly on that of which she had given a recent proof. He carried this composition to the church during the election, and was reading it to a circle of the electors, when one, who did not hear distinctly, called 'à la tribune.' The poet instantly ascended the pulpit, and read his verses with astonishing emphasis. They pleased in such a manner, that the whole audience fell into repeated fits of laughter, and the poet was delighted with the success of his verses. At last some one, who thought that such a happy composition should be enjoyed in all shapes, exclaimed,—'Chantez les!' which request being repeated by others, the author, after a few preparatory hems, adapted the verses to a tune of his own *immediate* recollection. I can hardly imagine that any of his

countrymen, on the frontiers, will shew more intrepidity than this man displayed on this occasion.

The state prisoners, who have been so long confined at Orleans, were ordered to be conducted to Paris; but on the dreadful disorders which happened in that city, it was thought improper to carry them thither, and the assembly ordered that, instead of Paris, they should be taken to Saumur. The guards who had been sent to perform this duty, persisted in executing the first order, even after they had received the second: this gave great uneasiness to the friends of the prisoners; and, on its being mentioned in the assembly, a third order was issued to carry the prisoners to Saumur. The guards, we are informed, obeyed the orders of the assembly, by not taking them to Paris, but disobeyed them in refusing to conduct these prisoners to Saumur; and, instead of either, are actually carrying them to Versailles.

What is the meaning of this? Those troops would not disobey the assembly of themselves—They must be acting under the influence of some man, or body of men, who do not appear.

Yet while Paris is so little under government, that it is thought unsafe to carry prisoners to it, still I hear of no private assassinations, no street robberies—all the villanies of this people seem to be committed under some pretext of a public or patriotic nature.

Although the people in general, both those of Paris and those I have conversed with since we left it, lament the manner in which the prisoners were put to death; yet many believe that they deserved to die, and that they would have been equally executed had the forms of law, and rules of justice, been previously used.

If this could be proved, which certainly it cannot, it would form no palliation of the criminality of the authors of the massacres. He that, from private hatred or mere wantonness, stabs a murderer, who is in the hands of justice, and about to be tried for his life, commits a murder; and the man who is guilty of such a violation of law,

would offer in vain to prove the guilt of the person he had stabbed: it would not be allowed in his defence.

Very great pains have been taken, however, to urge this notion of the guilt of the prisoners as a vindication of the assassins; and also, that the assassins were no other than a promiscuous crowd of the citizens of Paris.

This idea is propagated in all the journals printed at Paris. If the editors of those journals were so inclined, they durst not publish a contrary account of the matter; for if those massacres were not committed by a furious multitude, which the eyes of government cannot discriminate, nor the hands seize—by whom were they committed? This is a question which, I am assured, it would be much more easy than it would be safe to answer.

But what may lead to consequences of the most extensive mischief, and is as disgusting as the massacres themselves, is to see them justified in public journals, where they have been spoken of as a terrible but *necessary* example of the justice of the people. 'Men of cold phlegmatic characters,' say those gazetteers, 'assert that the sword of law only has a right to strike at the neck of criminals. —True,' add they, 'if we were not in a state of war, if an army of foreign mercenaries had not entered our country, who are in correspondence with those prisoners to enslave the nation, and murder its defenders.'

Talien, one of the commissaries sent by the general council of the commune de Paris to the national assembly, on the 3d of September, to give an account of what was passing, and had passed, in the prisons—speaking to the assembly, used these remarkable words.—'Les commissaires ont fait ce qu'ils ont pu pour empêcher les *désordres*, (the massacring the prisoners is what he calls disorders); mais ils n'ont pu arrêter, en quelque sorte, la *juste vengeance* du peuple.' *

* The commissaries did all they could to prevent the disorders; but it was not in their power to stop the veangeance of the people, which, in some measure, was just.

The just vengeance of the people! If the national assembly had not been overawed, would they have listened with patience to such expressions?

It never can be just in the people to exercise vengeance—that belongs to the laws alone.

The manifesto published by the duke of Brunswick has irritated the minds of all ranks, and filled France with one sentiment of indignation. That prince must have been wonderfully misinformed respecting the state of people's minds in this country; but, indeed, I question if there would have been so much unanimity among them, had that manifesto not appeared.

'Let the king of Prussia and duke of Brunswick tyrannize over their own subjects,' say they, 'and cane their soldiers into fighting machines, since they can bear it: but are they to tell the French nation, the late alteration in your government displeases us—you must re-establish things on the old footing; and when you have done so, we will consider what punishment is to be inflicted on those who proposed the alterations.' Such is the language I hear very frequently.

Boulogne, Sept. 11.

This town is not near so populous, nor, in my opinion, so agreeable as Abbéville. The situation of the high town however, is advantageous and lofty, and surrounded with ramparts. The emigration of the noblesse, who formerly lived here, tends, no doubt, to throw a gloom on the place, which I think more remarkable here than in any town of France that I recollect. This was dissipated for some time to-day by a marriage:—The bride and bridegroom, with a number of their friends of both sexes, in their best attire, walked in processionto the church, accompanied with a band of music, playing ça ira; to which the people at the shop-doors and windows nodded in time, and some joined with their voice.

This nation seems always in unison with cheerfulness;

and if an accidental gloom begins to overshadow them, the slightest ray of gaiety is sufficient to disperse it, and enable them to join in full chorus with the voice of joy.

A few days before we left Paris, the inhabitants were certainly not in a cheerful mood; but that was owing to a concurrence of circumstances of a nature to have hung the blackest clouds of melancholy over the minds of many people for life. I understand that theirs have brightened up in a great degree already, and that the Prussian armies, though further advanced into France, and nearer Paris than ever, give them no kind of concern; they are now fully convinced that they will be repulsed, or completely destroyed. It is fortunate for a nation, when attacked by powerful enemies, to retain a proper confidence in their own strength and resources, because that very confidence contributes to their success; but I should have full as much reliance on their courage, if it were more modestly expressed than it sometimes is at the bar of the national assembly.

One detachment swear, that they never will quit their arms, 'qu'après avoir purgé la terre des brigands couronnés.' *

Another, that they will, in the day of battle, keep their ground, and remain at their post, 'aussi inébranlables que le Mont-martre l'est devant Paris.' †

Another, after, declaring an everlasting hatred to tyrants, adds,—'Nous faisons le serment des Spartiates, de revenir avec nos boucliers, ou d'être portés dessus; nous nous ferons tous couper en morceaux plutôt que de céder à l'ennemi le champ de bataille, et nous nous servirons encore de nos dents pour dernieres armes. Nous promettons de rapporter sur nos casques, à chacun pour criniere, la longue chevelure d'un Germain.' ‡

* Till after they have cleared the earth of crowned robbers.

† As immoveable as Mont-martre before Paris.

‡ We swear, like the Lacedæmonians, either to bring back our bucklers, or to be carried back upon them; we will be cut in pieces sooner than yield the field of battle to the enemy; we will fight even with our teeth, if

Men who speak such language, must fight very bravely indeed to equal the expectation which they wish to raise: for my own part, I am inclined to believe that the French will shew a great deal of courage, because it belongs to the national character at all times; and because, at this particular time, their spirits are mounted by the energy of enthusiasm highly above the natural standard. From what I have heard, and am able to observe since I have been in this country, I am also led to believe, that the German armies will be disappointed in their expectations of being joined by the inhabitants, or of insurrections in their favour. But, notwithstanding that these are my opinions, I confess that I do not feel the same persuasion that seems to prevail all over France, that the duke of Brunswick will not be able to penetrate to Paris, so high is my idea of his military skill, and of the superiority of disciplined troops. The confidence of the French makes them overlook or despise those articles, and sometimes manifests itself in a singular manner!

On the first of this month, in a company who were dining together, the chance of the duke of Brunswick's coming to Paris became the subject of discourse.—One gentleman offered to bet considerable odds that he would not get so far; nobody thought proper to accept the bet: he then offered still greater odds, and a person present took them; which he had no sooner done, than another observed to him, that it was surprising that he, of all men, should have done so, because he had often asserted, that he thought it quite impossible for the duke of Brunswick to force his way to Paris.—I think so still, replied the other; but it is very possible he may be brought here prisoner, and on that chance only I took the odds.

The commissioners, which are sent from the national assembly to every department of France, are endowed with the power of breaking the municipalities, and ordering a new set of magistrates to be elected; also of sus-

if other arms fail; and we promise, that each of us will return with the long hair of a German as an ornament to our helmets.

pending the public officers, civil or military, when there is any reason to suspect their conduct. These commissaries must likewise have very great influence in spreading those opinions which the ruling part of the assembly wish to prevail. That republican sentiments are of this number, seems probable from many circumstances that have lately occurred, and particularly from their being avowed and even proclaimed by the candidates for the ensuing national assembly. Rabaut de St. Etienne, who was a member of the first assembly, has been lately elected a deputy to the convention: it would appear that somebody had circulated a report that he was a friend to a monarchical form of government, and had no aversion to kings, provided they were honest men: this he considers as calumnious; and in his letter to the assembly, announcing his election, he professes a determined hatred to royalty and kings without exception.—'C'est ainsi,' he adds, 'que je reponds aux calomnies, qui sont le fruit de la malveillance, accueillies par la credulité.' *

From this a pretty strong presumption may be formed of what the complexion of the national convention will be, if ever it should exist, for there are people who still harbour doubts on that head—there are however a considerable number of the deputies already elected, and, contrary to the opinion of many, all who are elected have accepted.

Boulogne, Sept. 12.

The council of the commune de Paris have the power at present of sending commissaries, as well as the national assembly; and it would seem that the power of those sent by the former is as extensive as that of those delegated by the latter. A letter was lately read in the national assembly from a commissioner sent by the com-

* This is the answer I give to calumnies, which are the fruits of malevolence gathered by credulity.

mune to the army under Luckner, at Chalons, in which the commissioner, whose name is Billaud de Varennes, complains of the conduct of the municipality, talks of breaking them if he finds that the majority do not adopt the measures which he and his brother commissioners think expedient.—He also makes some very severe remarks on the conduct of General Luckner, and gives such an account of the neglect of many things necessary for the troops, and the confusion and want of system upon the whole, as greatly increases the chance of the duke of Brunswick's being able to penetrate to Paris.

One would naturally have imagined that the troops of the line were more to be depended on than the new levies made at Paris: but this does not seem to be the opinion of Billaud de Varennes; for after the discouraging statement of the situation of the troops at Chalons, and hinting at the small force which Dumourier has to oppose to the numerous and disciplined army under the duke, he gives the assembly to know, that what they have most to rely on is the Parisian army—and concludes his letter with these words.—'Courage, mes chers concitoyens! Brunswick doit trembler, car les Parisiens sont à dix lieues de son camp.' *

Most people (exclusive of the French themselves) will be of opinion, that it is not the duke of Brunswick who has the greatest reason to tremble; and that the Parisians will act wisely in not approaching nearer to his camp.

Boulogne, Sept. 13.

The character of some of the deputies already chosen by the department of Paris, does not tend to convey high expectations of the ensuing convention. Marat is of the number: he is supposed to have obtained this honour partly by his own popularity among the low classes, and partly through the influence of a faction, at the head of which are Danton the minister of justice, and Robespierre. As

* Take courage, my fellow citizens! Brunswick may tremble, for the Parisians are within ten leagues of his camp.

the reputation of Marat was not of pure white previous to the 2d of September, and has been considered of a scarlet hue since, it was thought necessary to prepare the minds of the electors, and endeavour to conciliate them in his favour before the day of election: for this purpose Chabot, who was formerly a Franciscan friar, has been since a patriotic orator, and is already chosen a deputy to the convention, made an oration in his favour in the society of Jacobines, of which many of the electors are members. As this discourse is certainly of a very extraordinary nature, and as it discovers the disposition both of the orator and the person he recommends, I shall give the following passage from it.—'On a reproché à Marat,' said the Capuchin, 'd'avoir été sanguinaire; d'avoir, par exemple, contribué au massacre qui vient d'être fait dans les prisons; mais en cela il étoit dans le sens de la revolution; car il n'étoit pas naturel, pendant que les plus vaillans patriotes s'en alloint aux frontières, de rester ici exposé aux coups des prisonniers à qui l'on promettoit des armes et la liberté pour nous assassiner. On dit qu'il a été sanguinare parce qu'il a demandé plus d'une fois le sang des aristocrates, et même le sang des membres corrompus de l'assemblé constituante. Mais il est connu que le plan des aristocrates a toujours été et est encore de faire un carnage de tous les sans-culottes: or, comme le nombre de ceux-ci est à celui des aristocrates comme 99 est à un, il est clair que celu qui demande que l'on tue un pour eviter qu'on ne tue pas 99, n'est pas sanguinare. Il n'est pas non plus incendiare, car il a proposé de donner aux sans-culotes les depouilles des aristocrates; il ne peut donc pas être accusé d'avoir voulu les incendier?' *

* Marat is reproached with being of a sanguinary disposition; that he contributed, for example, to the late massacres in the prisons: but in doing so he acted in the true spirit of the revolution; for it was not to be expected that, while our bravest patriots went to the frontiers, we should remain here exposed to the rage of the prisoners, who were promised arms, and the opportunity of assassinating us. We are told that he is sanguinary, because oftener than once he demanded the blood of the aristocrates, and also that of the corrupt members of the constituent assembly. But it is well

Notwithstanding the merciful spirit and logical force of reasoning which appears in this precious morsel of eloquence, it was not thought safe to trust entirely to it.—

Robespierre thought it necessary to add the weight of his eloquence. In a harangue made by him in the electoral assembly, the import of which was to point out the qualities of most importance in a deputy for the conventional assembly, he at length pointed out Marat and Le Gendre as two men highly worthy of the suffrages of the electors.—They were both chosen accordingly.—Marat's merit is notorious: what recommended Le Gendre to the patronage of Robespierre I know not, unless it be that he is by profession a butcher.

Calais, Sept. 14.

Before we left Boulogne this morning, we heard that the state prisoners, soon after their arrival from Orleans, were massacred in the streets of Versailles!—These repeated massacres fill the mind with horror—create a detestation of the people who can suffer such things, and will injure the French revolution more than if the duke of Brunswick had beaten their armies, and were in possession of Paris itself.

I abhor writing any more about them—Wretches!

Calais, Sept. 15.

I should be sorry to say any thing in favour of that despotism which has prevailed in far the greater part of the globe, from the earliest period of recorded manners and government—nor do I wish to urge any thing in extenu-

well known, that the plan of the aristocrates always has been, and still is, to make a general carnage of the sans-culottes. Now, as the number of the latter is to that of the former in the proportion of ninty-nine to one, it is evident that he who proposes to kill one, to prevent the killing of ninety-nine, is not a blood-thirsty man. Neither can he justly be called an incendiary, for he proposed to give the spoils of the aristocrates to the sans-culottes! how then can he be accused of wishing to burn them?

ation of that complex system of slavery under which the whole French nation, though in unequal degrees, were debased and oppressed; and least of all would I depreciate the merit of those who, from honest indignation at injustice and tyranny, and a generous desire of obtaining equal laws, and a limited monarchy, united their efforts in overthrowing the old arbitrary system.

But had those patriots been able to foresee all the consequences with which their well-intended efforts have been followed, the wild and destructive notions with which the multitude have been inspired by unprincipled men, under the mask of patriotism, who, from the basest and most wicked motives, direct the blind fury of the people against their best friends, and render them more cruel and oppressive than their greatest oppressors; and, finally, could those patriots have foreseen the barbarous massacres which have disgraced France of late, would it *not have puzzled their wills, and made them rather bear those ills they had,* than fly to others that they knew not of? What! are men to bear all the various wanton indignities and oppressions of a tyrannical government, rather than attempt to overturn it, lest a worse thing should befal them?

No independent mind can ever subscribe to such a doctrine; though there is reason to fear, that the horrid things which have of late been transacted in France will procure it more proselytes than ever. But those horrid transactions are not the necessary consequence of a struggle against tyranny—they are unprecedented in the history of the world; they are not the work of the lovers of freedom, but of the infernal agents of some cowardly despot, who dares not yet rear his head.

But, terrible as the risk of such scenes is, let it be remembered, that imagination can hardly paint any thing more intolerable, than that dismal, hopeless gloom, which a despotic government throws over the minds of men who have acquired a veneration for equity, for impartial laws, and a just idea of liberty. Shut out knowledge, and every sentiment of this kind, and men will live with occa-

sional comfort in the most abject slavery: but such sentiments and ideas having once entered the mind of man, he is wretched under despotism, and cannot taste tranquillity without rational freedom.

Such considerations naturally lead the mind to reflect on the enviable condition of that small portion of the inhabitants of Europe who live under governments free from the evils which oppressed France, and particularly those who live under a constitution so admirably poised that it requires no dangerous renovation, and contains within its fabric the safe means of repair when they are needed.

There was a search for arms all over Calais last night; I suppose the same has taken place, or will soon, in every town in France: they find it very difficult to find arms for the immense armies now on foot.

Calais, Sept. 16.

When the magistrates and citizens of Verdun shewed a disposition to capitulate, and deliver up the town to the Prussians, Beaurepaire, colonel of the regiment of Mayenne and Loire, and commandant of the garrison of Verdun, no sooner heard of their intentions, than he hastened from the ramparts, where he was encouraging the soldiers, to the town-hall, where the magistrates were assembled, and used all his influence to persuade them to hold out: —but finding them determined on a measure which he thought disgraceful, he pulled a pistol from his pocket, and shot himself in the middle of the council. The volunteers whom he commanded would not allow his body to be buried at Verdun, of which the Prussians were immediately to take possession, but carried it to Saint-Menehould.

M. Delaunay having heard of this, proposed in the national assembly, that the remains of Beaurepaire should be brought from St. Menehould, and interred in the French pantheon.—'Let us treat his ashes,' said he, 'as Rome, had she preserved her liberty, would have treated those of Cato and Marcus Brutus. The road all the way

from the Pantheon to St. Menehould is at present covered with soldiers, and shining with bayonets and pikes.

'Figure to yourselves,' added he, 'what an impression it will make on the minds of our warriors, when they meet the funeral chariot of one who died for liberty! the sight will *electrize* their souls, inspire them with courage, and fill their hearts with a desire of vengeance.'

However natural it was for a high-spirited officer to be driven to despair at a measure, the disgrace of which, he thought, would reach himself; yet suicide is so contrary to the spirit of the Christian religion, that it might have been imagined the legislative assembly of a Christian country (for they have not yet decreed the abolition of Christianity) would have had some difficulty in adopting this measure.—No such thing—A Roman senate could not have shewn less. They immediately decreed that the body of Beaurepaire should be transported from St. Menehould, and interred in the Pantheon at Paris, with the following inscription on his tomb.—'Il aima mieux se donner la mort que de capituler avec les tyrans.' *

It was ordained at the same time, which the most scrupulous Christian in the assembly could have no objection to, that the pension of Beaurepaire should be continued to his widow and son during their lives.

The whole of this measure *seems* to be approved by the nation; those who may be supposed to be offended at any part of it keep their sentiments concealed, while those who approve, proclaim theirs in the most ostentatious manner. In one journal I find the following paragraph.—'Que nos regrets honorent le trépas de Beaurepaire—faisons tomber devant la justice et la reconnoissance ce préjugé barbare, qui trop long temps appella foiblesse et fureur le dévoument courageux de Brutus et de Caton.†

* He chose to put himself to death, rather than capitulate with tyrants, &c.

† Let our grief do honour to the death of Beaurepaire—let justice and gratitude overthrow that barbarous prejudice, which too long has given the epithets of weakness or madness to the noble deaths of Brutus and of Cato.

In another it is said,—' La mort est une ressource qu'il ne faut point oter à la vertu opprimée—En décrétant que Beaurepaire est digne de l'apothéose, l'assemblée nationale a non seulement acquitté une dette sacrée, mais elle a plus fait encore pour les progrès de la morale que tous les traités de nos beaux esprits.' *

If this be true, nothing can give a stronger idea of the inefficacy of the writings of the beaux esprits towards the progress of morality.

I am greatly deceived, however, if suicide is not the effect of *feeling* rather than *reasoning*; and if the national assembly by their decrees, and the beaux esprits by their writings, can render men happier, they will more effectually check the practice of suicide than all that can be said or written against it.

A French acquaintance of mine having pointed out the foregoing passages in the journals, said with a triumphant air,—' Vous autres Anglois croyez qu'à vous seuls appartient la droit de se teur.'

Calais, Sept. 17.

About the beginning of this month, two waggons full of arms destined for the army were passing through the town of Charleville, conducted by an officer of the artillery:—the populace, taking it into their heads that they were going to the enemy, arrested the waggons, and murdered the officer.

The son of the postmaster of St. Amand, on a suspicion of having given intelligence to the enemy, was killed by the populace, and his body dragged through the streets.

M. Bayeux, one of the magistrates of Calvados, being suspected of a treasonable correspondence with the emigrants, was arrested, tried, and acquitted; but the popu-

* Death is a resource of which we ought not to deprive oppressed virtue. In decreeing that Beaurepaire is worthy of apotheosis, the national assembly has not only discharged a sacred debt, but it has done more for the advancement of morality than the works of our most brilliant writers.

lace continuing to threaten him, he was detained in prison with a view to his being set at liberty, when that could be done with safety:—the prison was forced by the mob, and the magistrate immediately murdered.

All those horrors, and others which could be enumerated, have happened within these few days; from which it might naturally be concluded, that it is dangerous to travel through the country of France, or walk in the streets of any of the large towns. Extraordinary and unaccountable as it may seem, however, the truth certainly is, that travellers are quite safe on the high roads, and that there is no such thing as street-robberies or housebreaking in Paris: all the murders and outrages which are committed at present in this country are in the cause of the public, and not from private interest. This is no alleviation of the evil; on the contrary, it were much less grievous for the citizens to be exposed to street-robberies and housebreakings, which were punished when discovered, than that a misguided populace should be tolerated in the exercise of justice upon whomsoever they consider as state criminals.—I mention this merely as a singular fact, not a proof that France is in a state of internal tranquillity; for what can be more miserable for a nation, than that such dreadful excesses can be committed with impunity?—Innocent people are murdered, and then we are told that the people meant well, but were mistaken.—Many of the journals palliate their greatest outrages, and say they proceeded from an excess of patriotism—None dare blame them; never was tyrant more feared and flattered than le peuple souverain at present.

Calais, Sept. 18.

I went this morning to the convent of Dominican nuns, and had a long conversation at the grate with one of them, an old lady of seventy years of age—She told me she had been forty-three years in this convent; that during that long period she had lived so free from care,

and enjoyed such a degree of content, that she had never wished to change her situation.

As a proof of this assertion, she said that, 'by a decree of the constituent assembly, when convents were thrown open, those nuns who chose to withdraw were allowed, and permission was at the same time given to those who were of a contrary opinion to remain in the convent—In consequence of which she and twenty-three other nuns had remained, with no other wish than to be permitted to end their lives there; but that now they were deprived of that hope, having lately received an order from the present national assembly to leave the convent, which is destined for other purposes; they were to leave it accordingly within ten days. She complained of this as a great hardship on herself in particular, who had lived so long out of the world that she had forgot how to live in it:—that eight of them had agreed to try to keep house in Calais, by joining their small pensions, and living together; the rest were to go to their respective relations—She ended by saying that she had great reason to be thankful to God for the happiness and tranquillity she had enjoyed, particularly during the last forty-three years of her life, which, from her own observation while she had lived in the world, and from all she had learnt since, was far greater than the portion usually allotted to mankind; and that although she had no reason to expect so much felicity for the remainder of her life, she had the comfort to think that the period of her suffering, if she was to experience suffering, would be far shorter than the long course of calm enjoyment which, through the goodness of the Almighty, she had been indulged with for so many years.'

This nun, in spite of her age and long confinement, seems to enjoy good health and spirits; her deportment was easy, and her manners polite: though some part of her narrative will appear singular, it seemed to me devoid of affectation or hypocrisy, and to come from the heart.

When I took my leave of this lady, I went to the con-

vent of Benedictine nuns, where a relation of my own had formerly been a pensioner.—My calling at the Dominicans was through mistake.—When I was introduced to the parlour of the Benedictines, I sent word that I wished to speak to a particular nun, who I knew had been acquainted with my relation.—A nun of a very genteel and interesting appearance came to the grate.

I saw she had been crying, though she attempted to look cheerful: she inquired affectionately about my relation, and spoke with great esteem of another lady who had been in the convent at the same time. After a short conversation, I asked if they were in the same situation with the Dominican nuns?—Hélas! oui, monsieur,* she replied, and burst into tears.—She was unable to speak for some time; but when she had recovered herself a little, she said, that the same option had been given to them, and that twenty-four of their number had also chosen to pass the remainder of their lives in the convent; that they were happy in each other's society, and in their being free from all cares, except the important one of their salvation.—But now we are thrown back into a world which we had renounced, which we wish to forget, and for which we have no relish; *Ah, monsieur! nous sommes bien à plaindre.* She continued crying and sobbing for some time; and then wiping her eyes, with a look of composure and resignation she said,—'But it is the will of God, and it becomes us to submit.'

Some readers will suspect that both the old and the young nun on this occasion affected sorrow they did not feel:—all I can say is, that, if they did, they are the best actresses I ever beheld, and the most disinterested; for, more appearance of natural grief I cannot conceive, and for what purpose it could be assumed I cannot divine.

I had hitherto considered the opening of convents as the giving liberty to the most unhappy of mortals, the miserable victims of avarice and superstition. In general, no doubt, this is the case;—but my conversation

* Alas! yes, sir.

with those two nuns confirms what I have had frequent occasion to remark, that when religious impressions are deeply engraven on the heart, they become a source of happiness, which compensates for many deprivations, and throw a constant consoling ray of light into situations which, to the general eye of the world, seem quite hopeless and gloomy. Those who, being neither seduced by taste nor obliged by necessity to confine such impressions to cells or convents, where they can be of little use to any *except to the possessor*, but carry them into society with all the energy of active virtue, are certainly the happiest of mankind.

By accounts received this day, it appears that the populace have at last taken to street-robbery in Paris; it has seemed very surprising to me that, in the present weak state of the executive government, they have abstained from it so long. But their robberies, like their murders, are performed under the mask of patriotism; they stop men in the streets, and make them surrender their silver shoe-buckles and their watches.—Women in the public walks have also had their rings and bracelets taken from them; but they have the assurances of the robbers that all those commodities are to be applied to the use of the public on the present emergency.

Notwithstanding all the pains which been taken to provide the troops with arms, they are still in want of muskets. By a decree of the national assembly, the muskets are to be taken from the cannoneers, which is a very numerous and expert corps in France, and given to the volunteers who flock to the armies; some regiments of dragoons have likewise been deprived of theirs for the same purpose.

Accounts are industriously circulated, of advantages obtained by the French armies over the Prussians; nothing seems more improbable;—the Germans have, however, failed in their attempt on Thionville; yet, in spite of that failure, and the pretended advantages gained over them, they continue to advance.

Calais, Sept. 19.

Nothing can be more surprising than the security and confidence of this people in the present alarming crisis. I have seen letters from Lille and Dunkirk, which describe the inhabitants of those towns in the same persuasion with those of Calais,—yet it is known that the Swiss regiment of Chateauvieux has gone in a body to the enemy, and there is reason to believe that the Swiss cantons will declare war against France.—Spain, it is thought, is in the same disposition; and it is already announced in the national assembly, that the German empire is arming against them.—'Il ne faut pas se le dissimuler,' said Merlin de Thionville in the assembly, 'nous avons à combattre tous les tyrans du monde, et ils ne sont pas à craindre pour un peuple libre et armé: il faut rompre définitivement avec eux. Je demande le rappel de tous les ministres de France.'* Before he made so rash a proposal, he should have proved that the people were armed, and, what is still more to be doubted, that they are free; but this same Merlin is not considered as so great a conjurer as his namesake was;—the assembly, therefore, did not follow his advice.

But what confirms me in my opinion that the affairs of this country are now in a more desperate state than ever is, that it is complained of in the national assembly, by a deputation from the municipality of Colombe, near Paris, that certain persons unknown, but who pretend to be members of the common council of Paris, and of the national assembly itself, break open doors, enter houses, and take away what they please, and harass the inhabitants of the town and adjacent villages in various ways, on pretext of the public service.

The minister Roland also complains of the anarchy which reigns in Paris, and which all his efforts cannot subdue.

* It is not to be denied that we have to fight against all the tyrants in the world, and they are not to be feared by a free and armed people.—Let us break with them entirely.—I demand that all the ministers of France at foreign courts be recalled.

Petion the mayor, who seems willing to state things in the most favourable light, says, in a letter to the assembly, that the outrages committed in the open streets, by robbing the citizens of their watches and rings, are put an end to; and adds,—'Paris, au surplus, est tranquille; tout en renferment dans son sein *des élémens très inflammables*.' *

Masuyer expressed himself in these terms.—'Si l'assemblée nationale ne prend pas une mesure vigoureuse, on ne peut plus rester à Paris: on en fait un lieu plus dangereux, cent fois, que les forêts les plus infestées de brigands,' † &c.

And Vergniaud, with that affecting eloquence which he has at his command, after mentioning the unwillingness which the citizens of Paris shew to work in the intrenchments forming round the city, adds,—'Quelle peut être la cause de cette inertie des meilleurs citoyens? Ah, messieurs, ne nous dissimulons pas; ces haines particulières, ces délations infames, ces arrestations arbitraires, ces cris de proscription, ces complots, ces atteintes portées sur les individus, cette violation de propriétés, cet oubli des loix, ces agitations inquiétantes ont répandu la consternation et l'effroi.

'L'homme vertueux se cache, il fuit avec horreur ce scènes de sang, et il faut bien qu'il se cache l'homme vertueux, quand le crime triomphe; il n'en a pas l'horrible sentiment, il se tait, il s'éloigne, il attend pour reparaitre des temps plus heureux.

'Les temps de révolution produisent ces hommes à la fois hypocrites et féroces, comme les pores de la terre produisent des insectes malfaisans après la tempête. Aujourd'hui ces pervers aristocratisent la vertu même pour

* Paris is calm for the present, but contains within her circuit much inflammable matter.

† If the national assembly does not adopt some vigorous measure, it will be impossible to remain any longer at Paris: it is become a residence a hundred times more dangerous than the forest the most harassed with robbers.

la fouler impunément aux pieds. Ils démocratisent le crime pour avoir le droit de le commettre : et c'est ainsi qu'ils deshonnorent la plus belle des causes, celle du peuple, et de la liberté.

' O citoyens ! vous voyez ma profonde émotion ; citoyens, arrachez le masque à ces pervers qui n'ont, pour vous tromper et vous perdre, que la bassesse de leurs moyens et l'audace de leurs prétensions. Citoyens, vous les reconnaitrez facilement ; lorsque l'ennemi s'avance, celui qui vous invite à égorger des femmes et des hommes désarmés, celui-la vous a trahi, et vous perd ; cet autre qui vous invite à la paix entre vous, qui vous crie de marcher sur les Prussiens ; eh bien ! celui-la est votre ami. Repoussez donc les traîtres qui vous agitent et vous divisent ; faites cesser les désordres, les proscriptions, et vous verrez un foule de défenseurs se réunir à vous, travailler et combattre pour vous.

' J'entends dire, mais nos armées peuvent éprouver des revers : et alors, les Prussiens viendront-ils à Paris? Non, ils n'y viendront pas, non, si les citoyens se réunissent, et si Paris se met en état de défense ; car alors ils seroient accablés sous le débris de l'armé qu'ils auroient vaincue, comme Samson sous le temple qu'il avait renverse.' *

* What can be the cause of this unwillingness among the best citizens? Ah, gentlemen ! there is no concealing it ; those hatreds, those infamous accusations, those arbitrary arrests, those rumours of proscriptions, of plots ; those personal attacks, those violations of property, this contempt of the laws, all those distressing circumstances have spread consternation and terror.

The virtuous man hides himself ; he flies with horror from those scenes of blood :—good reason have the virtuous to hide themselves when the wicked triumph.

They are silent, they retire, and wait for happier times before they appear again.

Times of revolution produce men who are at once hypocritical and ferocious, as, after tempests, the pores of the earth send forth destructive insects.

Those perverse men accuse virtue itself of aristocracy, that they may trample upon it with impunity ; and adorn crimes with the name of democracy, that they may be allowed to commit them ; thus they disgrace the noblest of all causes, those of the people, and of liberty.

O my

This is unquestionably a very fine piece of eloquence; but what effect can eloquence have on the hearts of men capable of robbery and murder? they must be subdued by other weapons.

Calais, Sept. 20.

There is great reason to believe that anarchy and some new event of horror will soon take place at Paris; our accounts received this day inform us, that the same manœuvres are going on at present that were performed previous to the 2d of September. News are industriously spread one day, that Dumourier has gained a victory; and the following day it is circulated, with equal industry, that he is defeated; and it is thought that this is done by emissaries of the enemy, that the people, while their minds are agitated, may fall on some destructive measure now, as they did then. Placarts have been stuck on the walls, inviting the populace to exterminate the four hundred members of the national assembly who voted against accusing M. la Fayette. At one of the sections, the inequality of fortune was declaimed against, and an agrarian law proposed.

This was to have been expected from the instant that the word *egalité* was brought forward in the way it has lately been—equal laws, and impartial justice, may have been originally meant; but equal wealth, it was natural

O my fellow-citizens, you see how deeply I am affected! citizens, tear the mask from those wretches who have nothing to deceive you with, but the most despicable means, and the most impudent pretensions.

Citizens, you may easily discover them.—He who, when the enemy advances, excites you to slaughter women and unarmed men, it is he who betrays and ruins you. That other, who persuades you to peace among yourselves, and to march against the Prussians, he is your friend.

Reject then the traitors who agitate and divide you. Put an end to disorder and proscription, and you will immediately behold a number of defenders, who will unite their efforts, and fight for you.

But it is said, our armies may be repulsed, and then the Prussians will come to Paris. No, they cannot come if the citizens unite, and if Paris is put in a state of defence, because they will be crushed by the remains of the army they defeated, as Sampson was by the temple he overthrew.

to expect, would be the explanation of the people, particularly such as have nothing.

The duke of Orleans is chosen one of the deputies for the department of Paris: he was proposed, according to our accounts, by the same people who proposed Marat: but the name of Orleans, as being nearly allied to the crown, gave offence to the electors; he, therefore, desired the general council of the commune of Paris to give him another name, more agreeable to the ears of his fellow-citizens. In consequence of this request, the council have signified to him that, as a reward for that zeal for liberty which he had manifested from the commencement of the revolution, and even before that period, and for his attachment to the cause of the people ever since, they would adorn him with the beautiful name of Equality (du beau nom d'Egalité).

Considering the immense fortune of Monsieur Egalité, and the disproportion it bears to what would fall to his share in case the patriots who push the agrarian law should carry their point, one can hardly think that this new name is very agreeable to him. His former name gave offence because too near to the crown; his present beautiful new name may give offence, because it is at too great a distance from the immensity of his wealth.

All the patriotism he has displayed before or since the revolution, however pure and free from resentment or selfish motives, may not secure him from that ingratitude which heroes and statesmen so often experience.

Were not all the services rendered to their country by Miltiades, Aristides, Camillus, and Scipio, repaid with ingratitude? What then can Monsieur Egalité expect? The present race of Parisians differ in some respects, it is true, from the ancient Greeks and Romans; they may, however, resemble them in ingratitude: but even in that case, they cannot deprive him of the *testimony of his conscience.*

Roland, the minister, has informed the assembly, that, on the night of the 16th of this month, the garde-

meuble, where the crown-jewels are kept, was broke open, and that diamonds and other valuable things had been carried away.

The Prussian army, now on the road to Paris, may probably conceive that this loss falls on them, rather than any body else.

Calais, Sept. 21.

The French and German armies have already met—they have had some partial shocks; the superiority of the latter appears on every occasion, as every body indeed foresaw, particularly those who have been bred to the military profession, many of whom I have heard assert, before I came to France, that twenty or twenty-five thousand of the disciplined troops of Prussia would drive all the noisy rabble of national guards before them like a flock of sheep, and that they could meet with no serious opposition except from fortified towns. I was always unwilling to believe, that severity of discipline gave a greater probability of victory than all the enthusiasm which could spring from the best of causes: it is disagreeable to imagine, that the cane of the serjeant can make men fight better than the idea of defending all that is dear in life. From what has happened hitherto in this campaign against France, that proposition, disagreeable as it is, will be confirmed. For what have the French done with all their enthusiasm? The only towns on their frontiers that have been seriously attacked are taken; their armies continue to retire before the enemy; General Dumourier himself, in a letter to M. Servan, the minister of the war department, says, that, in an attack on his rear, ten thousand men had run away shamefully from fifteen hundred of the enemy—What is to be expected from such an army?

Every thing, in the meantime, seems in a dreadful state at Paris. M. Roland has made some very earnest representations of the disorders which exist, to the national assembly; in one, he says, that five hundred citizens

have been arrested by orders of the committee of the municipality, and that the prisons will soon be as full as they were before the 2d of September; in consequence of which, Vergniaud declaims, and the assembly decree; but the remedies pointed out are not applied, the decrees are not obeyed; the executive power seems still to be in the hands of committees chosen from the community of Paris, which are thought to be directed by men of atrocious characters, suspected of being the authors of the massacres. In the midst of this awful scene of confusion, the assembly spend many hours in regulating the various articles of the proposed decree respecting divorce.

At a time when two frontier towns are taken, their armies repulsed, and the enemy advancing—when their fellow-citizens are thrown into prison in the most arbitrary manner, and they themselves threatened by assassins; for men, at such a moment, to shew as much anxiety to get rid of their wives, as of all the other evils put together, gives a strong idea of the misery which those poor men must have endured in their married state.

A courier arrived last night from the national assembly, requiring ten thousand men more from this department (du pas-de-Calais): this occasions a good deal of uneasiness—the town of Calais will be under some difficulty to furnish its quota.

It has rained incessantly for some days: if the same has been the case where the duke of Brunswick's army is, it must greatly impede his progress, and distress the soldiers.

As I stood for shelter from the rain, under the piazza of the town-house, I observed two women who had just obtained passports for England; one was in the character of maid to the other: she who was dressed as the maid, is a woman of rank; I had seen her frequently, when at Paris, in her real quality: they seemed impatient to get away, and crossed the square in the midst of the rain to go to the packet-boat.—Her impatience proceeded

partly, I suppose, from uneasiness at being recognised, though I turned my face from her the moment I saw her, for fear of giving that suspicion. I am happy to think they have got away without farther trouble. This lady, however, must have strong reasons for quitting France at present, because by the law against emigrants, which, by an unjust and cruel extension, reaches to females, her whole fortune will be forfeited.

A number of poor priests have fled to this place, and are skulking in different houses, till such time as they can find opportunities to cross over to Dover.

I know one pious and charitable lady, who has been very serviceable to several, and conceals and entertains them till they can be conveyed away with safety.

September 22.

I have heard and read of many persecutions which were excited by priests in all countries: the only persecution I ever was witness to, is that which exists at present against them in this country, and a most severe one it is.

The dislike which some people are fond of expressing against particular classes of men, which, from their nature, must comprehend men of all characters, like that which others express to the natives of particular countries, always proceeds from a childish, illiberal, and uncandid turn of mind.

The clergy of France have been treated with cruelty since the beginning of the revolution: that the church required a radical reform, with regard not only to the extent of her possessions, but also the manner in which they were distributed, will be pretty generally allowed: it was, perhaps, expedient that many of the great benefices should be applied to the public use as they became vacant; but what men have obtained the possession of by the existing laws of their country, they cannot justly be deprived of by any future law; and the levity with which the hardships put on the clergy of France is spoken of, by many of the laity of this country, is very disgusting.

But the indifference with which men look on acts of oppression to which they themselves are not exposed, and the indignation they express against every act of the same nature to which themselves are liable, does not belong exclusively to men of particular professions or countries; it is, I fear, in human nature

I have heard people who professed much public spirit, and uncommon affection for their country, declaim on the utility of applying two-thirds of the church livings in England to the extinction of the national debt. When the hardships to which this project would subject the clergy, was stated as a slight objection, they declared it no objection at all, but rather a circumstance in favour of the project, because it would be a just punishment for their selfishness, and they would still have too much left for men of moderate desires. But when a small reduction of the legal interest of money was hinted, as a means which would also facilitate the payment of a debt which seemed to lie so heavy on their minds, those patriots, whose money was invested in the funds, exclaimed against such an idea as a flagrant breach of public faith, and the most horrid injustice.

Those who, taking advantage of a particular tide of prejudice, direct its current against the clergy, under the pretext that priests have been persecutors, would themselves, in those days of persecution, have been the greatest of all persecutors, had they been priests.

The severity of some late decrees against those of the French clergy who refuse taking the oaths, seems to me highly unjustifiable. How can any candid mind feel resentment against men for sacrificing their interest, their establishment in life, from a scruple of conscience?

Yet these conscientious, or simple men, have been deprived of their livings, banished their country, and many of them massacred as they were going into banishment.

But many of the clergy, who refuse to take the oaths, are accused of exciting the people to insurrection against the new government, and of insulting the clergy who have

taken them. Let those against which this is proved be punished according to law; but let not the innocent be punished in a manner which would be barbarous, if even inflicted on the guilty.

Nothing has exposed the king to so much suspicion and obloquy, as his choosing his chaplain and confessor from among those priests who refuse to take the oaths: none but of this class were seen at court, or admitted into the Tuilleries for some time before the 10th of August, which was thought a proof of his majesty's approbation of their principles and conduct; and, in spite of his having himself accepted and sworn to the constitution, this partiality to the priests who had done neither, was represented by his enemies as an evidence that in his heart he hated the constitution, had a secret correspondence with his brothers, and was doing every thing he durst venture to favour the designs of the enemies of France.

There is absurdity, however, as well as want of charity in this interpretation; for if the king is so devoid of principle as to engage in a plot to betray his country, and overturn the constitution to which he has sworn to be faithful, how should he be so scrupulous as to refuse to employ those priests who could render him most popular, and, of course, enable him the better to carry on the plot?

To suppose he was engaged in such a conspiracy, is supposing him a man of neither principle nor piety: to accuse him of employing priests whom his conscience approved, in preference to those whom policy pointed out, is admitting that he possesses both.

From all I have learnt of Lewis XVI, he is a man of integrity, devoid of ambition, but with an uncommon share of indolence; whose disposition is better than his understanding, and his understanding superior to his conduct; whose inclinations are naturally benevolent; whose opinions are generally just, but whose actions are sometimes improper, because they are influenced by those who possess less rectitude than himself.

The preference he gives to priests who refuse to take

the oaths seem to injure him as much in the minds of the popular leaders, as that which Charles I gave to the clergy of the church of England injured him in the minds of the Presbyterians and Independents. Charles has even been considered as a martyr to the church of England. The inviolability which the constitution gives to Lewis will secure him from the same fate, whatever degree of rancour his enemies may bear him.

September 23.

Orders came a few days since from M. Servan, the war minister, for one thousand nine hundred muskets to be carried from St. Omer to Rheims for the use of the volunteers going to Dumourier's army, many of whom advance no farther than the latter town for want of arms. As this convoy passed through the town of St. Quintin, it was stopped by three battalions of national volunteers; *they* also were in want of muskets, which, however, were ready for them at the department of the north, to which those battalions were marching. Without listening to this assurance, or any thing else that was said, they seized the arms of the convoy; many were broken in the tumult, and the troops at Rheims disappointed.

General Dumourier writes to the war minister, that, having thought proper to change his situation, his army was attacked by the enemy during his march; that a panic had seized the rear of his army; that some cowardly or treacherous soldiers had called out, 'Sauve qui peut, nous sommes trahis!'* that ten thousand men had fled from one thousand five hundred of the enemy; and that if those one thousand five hundred had pushed on with vigour, the whole army might have been thrown into confusion; but this not having been done, his army had recovered their spirits, and were now in a good situation. He writes in a style of the greatest confidence, that he expects to form a junction with Kellerman and Bournonville

* Let those save themselves who can, we are all betrayed!

very soon, and has not the least doubt of repulsing the enemy.

It may be highly proper in a general to write in this manner to the last; but I can hardly think that he has the confidence he pretends. What dependence can be had on men who rob their own convoys, and run away at the sight of the enemy? These are the characteristics of a mob, not of soldiers. I do not know what impression this letter made on the national assembly, but the inhabitants of this place are fully persuaded that Dumourier will be as good as his word; not that they believe their general to be superior in military skill to the duke of Brunswick, their expectations are founded on their conviction of the superior valour of the French over that of the Germans, or any other people; and should they hear that Dumourier is beaten, and his army dispersed, I am persuaded they will impute it to him, or to the mercenaries in the pay of France, but not to want of spirit in the national troops.

The misfortunes of war are apt to be laid to the charge of the general by the populace of every country, who are all convinced that their countrymen are superior to their neighbours in the most essential part of a soldier's character; and, therefore, when the armies receive a severe check, or are defeated, they immediately suspect the general of treachery. The French, possessing more sensibility, and perhaps more levity, than some of their neighbours, are, of course, more subject to those suspicions; though their nearest neighbour, who is generally believed to be of a far more cold and phlegmatic temperament, has given dreadful proofs of being susceptible of the same unjust way of thinking, and of all the excesses which it is apt to produce.*

National pride is less offended when the loss of battles is imputed to the treachery of a few, or indeed to any cause whatever, rather than to an inferiority of spirit or

* The massacre of the De Witts by the Dutch.

courage in the troops. Courage is a quality which the inhabitants of every country in the world, since the beginning of the world, have claimed to themselves in a supreme degree.

The French have always thought themselves superior to any nation in Europe in military virtue: that they even think themselves a match for several combined against them, they afford a strong proof at present.

Nec pluribus impar, was considered as a rhodomontade when adopted as a motto by Lewis XIV,—it is now considered as a truth by the generality of the French nation.

I have heard Scotchmen assert, that the entire conquest of France by the English, in the reign of Henry V, was prevented *solely* by a body of seven thousand Scots, commanded by their countryman the earl of Buchan, constable of France; and others endeavour to prove, that the victories of Gustavus Adolphus were chiefly owing to about the same number of Scots who served in his army. The common people of Scotland, at this day, would think any man deprived of his reason, who would for a moment imagine that an army of any nation, commanded by any general that ever lived, could have withstood half the number of their countrymen led by Sir William Wallace.

The English, who laugh at their neighbours for this national partiality, are suspected of having their full share of it, and of not always confining it to the *human* inhabitants of their country.

A good many years ago, returning from Paris to London, I met with a certain Englishman at Calais, who had been exhibiting in some of the towns of Flanders and the French provinces with a swarm of bees, which he pretended to have under his command;—among other manœuvres, he said, he could make two swarms of these animals engage in battle with each other,—an English swarm, for example, with a French.

And, pray, said a Frenchman who was present, can you make which side you please victorious?

To which the other very gravely replied, that he could not give the victory to the French unless they were a little more than double the number of the English; because an English bee was *precisely* equal to two French ones.

When we came to Dover, the Frenchman, who was going to London, and had taken his passage in the same packet-boat with me, put me in mind, a little before we parted, of the bee-man's declaration, which he had not been able to digest, and asked if I really believed that there was such a difference between French and English bees.

Till that instant I had not remarked that the Frenchman was hurt; I had taken it for granted that he had seen the bee-man's assertion in the same light that I did.

Being now convinced of my error, I answered coldly, that perhaps the bee-man had gone too far in asserting that one English bee was equal to two French ones; but that I was inclined to believe that two English bees would be a pretty good match for three French.

Ah, monsieur! said the Frenchman complaisantly, cela peut être.

But, whatever they may think of the prowess of their bees, a very strong prejudice has always prevailed in every country in favour of the personal valour and military virtues of their countrymen. They may grant that other countries have a superiority in philosophy, in divinity, in the fine arts, in all the arts of peace,—in all the arts which tend to render men happy, but never in that which spreads devastation and misery, never in that art which gives the power of subduing and domineering.

> Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
> Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
> Orabunt causas melius; cœlique meatus
> Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
> Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
> Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

September 24.

A gentleman of character, on whose veracity I have re-

liance, informed me that he was at Versailles on the day that the massacre of the prisoners from Orleans happened: he had left Paris that morning, and, on his arrival at Versailles, heard that the prisoners were expected; but had no idea when he set out, nor did he observe any thing after he arrived at Versailles, which gave him a suspicion of such an event: he went and walked a considerable time in the gardens; during this interval the prisoners arrived, and that most atrocious scene of bloodshed was performed. On his return from the gardens, he saw the mangled bodies of 52 men lying in a street on the left hand as you go to the chateau from Paris!—Some of the lower sort of the inhabitants of Versailles were looking on; the rest, struck with terror, were shut up in their shops and houses. The body of the duke of Brislac was pointed out—the head and one of the hands was cut off! —a man stood near smoking tobacco, with his sword drawn, and a human hand stuck on its point!—another fellow walked carelessly among the bodies with the entire arm of another of the prisoners fixed to the point of his sword! This gentleman afterwards saw a waggon arrive, into which were thrown as many of the slaughtered bodies as the horses could draw!—A boy of about fourteen years of age was within the waggon, assisting to receive the bodies as they were put in, and packing them in the most convenient manner, with an air of as much indifference as if they had been so many parcels of goods! One of the wretches who threw in the bodies, and who probably had assisted in the massacre, said to the spectators, in praise of the boy's activity,—'Voyez ce petit bon homme, comme il est hardi.'

The assassins of the prisoners were a party who had come from Paris on the preceding evening, most of them in post-chaises, for that purpose, and who attacked those unhappy men while they remained in the street waiting till the gate of the prison which was prepared for their reception should be opened.

The circumstances of those assassins having come from

Paris the night before, and most of them in post-chaises, or in the usual carriages which go to Versailles, are strong presumptions, that they were a detachment from the bloody band who performed the executions in the prisons, and that these executions by no means proceeded from the emotions of rage and despair in the people, but from a predetermined plan, formed by a set of men who have usurped a great deal of power of late, which they wish to increase, and who think this dreadful act was necessary for their own safety.—The detachment which had guarded the prisoners from Orleans, stood shameful and passive spectators of the massacre.

The miserable prisoners being all unarmed, and some of them fettered, could do nothing in their own defence: they were most of them stabbed—and a few, who attempted resistance, were cut down with sabres.

There never was a more barbarous and dastardly action performed in the face of the sun.—Gracious Heaven! were those barbarities, which would disgrace savages, committed by Frenchmen! by that lively and ingenious people, whose writings are so much admired, whose society has been so much courted, and whose manners have been so much imitated by all the neighbouring nations?—This atrocious deed, executed in the streets of Versailles, and the horrors committed in the prisons of Paris, will fix indelible stains on the character of the French nation. It is said, those barbarities revolted the hearts of many of the citizens of Paris or Versailles, as much as they could those of the inhabitants of London or Windsor. It is also said, that those massacres were not committed by the inhabitants of Paris or Versailles, but by a set of hired assassins!—But who hired those assassins? Who remained in shameful stupor and dastardly inactivity while their laws were insulted, their prisons were violated, and their fellow-citizens butchered in the open streets? I do not believe, that from the wickedest gangs of highwaymen, housebreakers, and pickpockets, that infest London and the neighbourhood, men could be selected who could be bribed to mur-

der, in cold blood, such a number of their countrymen —and if they could, I am convinced that no degree of popular delusion they are capable of, no pretext, no motive whatever, could have made the inhabitants of London or Windsor, or of any town of Great Britain, suffer such dreadful executions to be performed within their walls.

September 25.

General Dumourier has ordered fifty of the most guilty of those who, by their cowardly or treacherous cries, spread confusion through his troops on their retreat from his camp at Grand Pré, to be stript of their uniform, pinioned, and in this disgraceful condition carried to Paris, and delivered to the section to which they belong.

He has published a proclamation or address to the soldiers, the import of which is to encourage them, and to give them the strongest assurances of victory, provided they have confidence in their officers, and shut their ears against the voice of traitors! He ends this address with these words.—'Camarades, si on se réunit sous mes étendards avec la confiance que des enfans doivent avoir en leur père et non autrement, je reponds de ces rois du nord, de ces altesses sérénissimes, de ces cordons de toutes les couleurs, de ces paladins François, qui se qualifient encore des vains noms que nous leur avons enlevés: ils iront à Paris, puisqu'ils le désirent; ils iront en triomphe, mais ce sera à notre suite.'*

He writes to M. Servan, that he is now certain of effecting a junction with the generals Kellerman and Bournonville; and adds,—'After having been able to keep the numerous armies of the Germans and French emigrants

* Fellow-soldiers, if you will re-unite under my standard with that confidence which children ought to have in their father, I will be answerable for those kings of the north, for those high mightinesses with their ribbons of all sorts of colours; for those French knight-errants, who still assume those empty titles which we stripped them of: they shall go to Paris!—yes, no doubt they shall go, but it shall be as our prisoners.

in check, for so long a time, with a handful of men, you may rest assured that there is nothing to be feared, now that my army is equal to theirs.'

This is speaking in so very confident a strain, that I should, however, take it all for rhodomontade, were it not for his having honestly and fairly acknowledged the flight and ill behaviour of part of his army on the march; which, to be sure, is like a man determined to declare the truth; for nothing could be more mortifying to the army, to the assembly, and to the French in general. He is, beside, universally spoken of as a man of great acuteness and activity. But, after all, it is impossible to imagine that the duke of Brunswick, a general of the first reputation of the age, with a numerous army of the best disciplined troops in Europe, can be baffled by an army of raw soldiers, led by one who, with all his natural quickness, is without much military experience: at all events, the affair must be decided soon, the armies are within sight of each other; and while the Prussians threaten Chalons and Rheims, the Austrians harass the country near Lille, and some of their light cavalry have advanced within a very small distance from the gates of Douay. It is thought that they will attempt the siege, or at least the blockade of the former. We hear, however, that the convention is assembled; but I own I still think it will not sit long at Paris. What renders this conjecture the more probable, and may be added to the extraordinary circumstances above enumerated, is, that Marat is still permitted to publish his inflammatory papers, the intention of which evidently is to excite new massacres! In one, which was pasted on the walls of Paris on the 19th, he accuses many of the deputies chosen for the convention, of aristocratical and anti-revolutionary principles; he denounces the generals who command the armies as traitors; and almost all the present ministers, particularly Roland, he paints as the enemies of freedom! Danton, the present minister of justice, is the only one of the six who is not included in his proscription; and this omission is, in the minds of men of sense and in-

tegrity, as prejudicial to Danton, as the peculiar rancour he shews against Roland is honourable to the latter.

September 26.

The deputies to the convention, to the number of 371, met on the 21st in a hall of the Tuilleries; they chose Petion for president, and Condorcet, Brissot, Vergniaud, Rabaud, La Source, and Camus, for secretaries, and adjourned till the following day; when being again assembled in the same hall, they sent a deputation of twelve of their members to inform the national assembly that the convention was constituted, and about to begin the exercise of the powers which had been placed in their hands by the people of France.

The national assembly immediately decreed, that their president, M. François de Neufchateau, at the head of a deputation of their members, should wait on the convention, and conduct them to the hall of the Feuillans. The president then declared the *national assembly* dissolved, and the members attended him in a body to the Tuilleries, where M. François pronounced a congratulatory discourse, in which he informed the convention, 'that the national assembly being dissolved, their first act as citizens would be to serve as a guard to the convention, that they might give an example to every individual, of that respect which they owed to the representatives of the nation: that, in choosing them as members of this convention, the French people had consecrated the *extraordinary means* which they had been obliged to use for the preservation of twenty-four millions of people from the fatal effects of the perfidy of one man: that the object of their meeting was, to establish a constitution on the basis of freedom and equality; to give to the nation liberty, laws, and peace: liberty, without which the French disdained to live; laws, the firmest foundation of liberty; and peace, the sole end and object of war.'

The convention then walked from the Tuilleries to the hall of the Feuillans, conducted by the members of the

national assembly, through a lane formed by an immense multitude of people, a body of the national guards being under arms, the drums beating and trumpets sounding during the procession. The convention having taken possession of the hall, Manuel proposed that the president of the conventional assembly should be lodged in the Tuilleries; that, as often as he appeared in public, he should be preceded by guards; and that every day, when he opened the assembly, all the members should rise; observing, at the same time, that those marks of distinction would tend to render the assembly more respectable in the eyes of the French nation, as well as of strangers: and he mentioned the story of Cyneas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus, who, on being introduced into the Roman senate, said, they appeared like an assembly of kings.

Whether being compared to kings disgusted them, I know not; but this proposal was warmly opposed by several members, and particularly by Chabot, who said that such external pomp was despicable in itself, and improper for a popular government, in which the deputies should have no other dignity than that of being mixed and confounded with the sans-culottes who had elected them as their representatives. This Chabot was formerly a Capuchin, and still displays in his dress and person that partiality for dirt which distinguishes the monks of that order. He is now the rival of Marat, as an apostle of liberty; they seem congenial in their taste in dress, as well as politics: nature has not been partial to either in point of looks; few men, therefore, could be more excusable in endeavouring to conceal her unkindness by a few of the ornaments of art; yet no two republicans of Greece or Rome ever shewed more contempt for any auxiliary of that sort. Marat stands in much more need of it than Chabot, but he uses it less—there appears something even *recherché* in the shabbiness of Marat; he seems to think it a proof of patriotism, for in one of his late placarts against Petion, amongst other crimes he accuses him of being trop bien frisé. Marat is a little man, of a cadaverous complexion,

and a countenance exceedingly expressive of his disposition: to a painter of massacres, Marat's head would be inestimable. Such heads are rare in England, yet they are sometimes to be met with at the Old Bailey. The only artifice he uses in favour of his looks, is that of wearing a round hat, so far pulled down before as to hide a great part of his countenance.

I am convinced that Manuel's motion, or something of the same nature, would be of service. In decreeing guards and other marks of dignity to the president of the convention, they would render both him and the other members more respected by the people; it would dispose them more to obedience and to order, without injuring the cause of liberty. What danger can there arise from power or dignity, which is intrusted only for fifteen days in the hands of the same man?

The present French reformers are in danger of falling into the same error with Jack in the Tale of a Tub, who tore his coat in pieces through zeal to remove the lace; in like manner, they may injure the essential parts of government, by precipitately destroying the ornamental.

Danton is a man of too much importance to be left out of the convention on any account; in conformity with the principle that no one citizen should possess two offices under the government, he sent his resignation of the office of minister of justice, and retained that of member of the convention. He was the first who proposed that the constitution which they were about to form should be presented to the nation, and should not have force till it was accepted by the majority of the people of France, united in primary assemblies.

This and another proposal of his were decreed, namely, that property and persons were under the safeguard of the nation.

It was next decreed, that all laws not abrogated, and all powers not suspended, should continue in force, and that the public contributions should be levied as heretofore.

Towards the end of the meeting, M. Collot d'Herbois,

who formerly was an actor, appeared in the tribune, and directly, without circumlocution, proposed the abolition of royalty. This was supported and enlarged upon by the bishop Gregoire, who used the following argument, and subsequent flower of éloquence.—' Le mot de roi est encore un talisman, dont la force magique peut être le principe de beaucoup de désordres; il faut donc l'abolition de la royauté. Les rois sont en morale ce que les monstres sont en physique; les cours sont toujours les foyers de la corruption, et l'attelier des forfaits.' *

Although many circumstances announced a disposition to a measure of this kind, I had no idea that it would have been adopted on the very first day of the meeting of the convention, and without a strong contest. The proposal was heard with the united applause of the deputies, and the people in the galleries.

Bazire alone said, that a decree of so much importance required a little cool discussion, and ought not to be decreed in a moment of enthusiasm: but this very enthusiasm, which rendered the assembly unfit for deciding upon such a point at that time, was the cause of its being decided instantly. The reasonable proposal of Bazire excited murmurs, and every mark of disapprobation: it was in vain that he called out that he had as little affection for royalty as any of them, and only wished that the question should be postponed, and debated, after mature reflection, with coolness, which would give the people at large the more cause to be satisfied with their determination, and render it more likely to be permanent.

All this had no other effect than to render Bazire less popular. The abolition of royalty was decreed, and the assembly broke up.

There seems to be a contradiction in decreeing, first, that whatever constitution the convention might form, it

* The word king is still a kind of talisman, whose magic power may create many disorders; the abolition of royalty therefore is necessary. Kings are, in the moral world, that which monsters are in the natural: courts are always the centre of corruption, and the workhouse of crimes.

could have no force till it was approved and accepted by the majority of the people; and decreeing, in the second place, the abolition of royalty.

How does the assembly know that a limited monarchy is not more acceptable to the majority of the people, than any other form of government?

The first decree implies, that whatever constitution is most agreeable to the majority of the nation, and no other, shall be the constitution of France. The second declares, that no modification of monarchy shall be the constitution of France, whether it be agreeable to the majority of the people or not.

But this precipitate decree, for the abolition of royalty, seems not only inconsistent with their own principles, but unjust in itself; because it is punishing the king before trial, before they have made any examination into his conduct, or given him any opportunity of answering the charges made against him: not only punishing him, but inflicting the very severest punishment which, by the constitution, can, with any shadow of justice, be inflicted on him, although all were proved, and even more than he is charged with; for, by the second article of the constitution, which regards the king, his person is declared inviolable and sacred; and the sixth article is conceived in these words.—'Si le roi se met à la tête d'une armée, et en dirige les forces contre la nation; ou s'il ne s'oppose pas, par un acte formel, à une telle entreprise, qui s'exécuteroit en son nom, il sera censé *avoir abdiqué la royauté*.'*

To inflict, therefore, as severe a punishment for a crime which is only charged, but not proved, as could with justice be applied to a greater after full proof, is the height of cruelty and injustice.

* If the king should put himself at the head of an army, and direct its force against the nation; or if he shall not, by a formal act, oppose such an enterprise, when attempted in his name, he shall be considered as having forfeited royalty.

September 27.

It would seem, from what happened on the first day of the meeting, that the convention consisted entirely, or almost entirely, of republicans; and it is natural to conclude from this, that the same spirit prevails all over France. For it is asked, how could a fairer trial be made of the sentiments of the people, than was made at the last election? The national assembly, after suspending the king's authority, decree, that deputies shall be chosen by the people, for the express purpose of forming a constitution. There was, at this time, nothing to corrupt or bias the people in the elections, in favour of men whose principles they disapproved: any bias that could be presumed would incline them to choose the friends of the royal family; for the French princes, supported by numerous armies, were advancing into the heart of the kingdom. This was the time for all royalists to show themselves, either by joining the princes, or choosing men for the convention of the same sentiments with themselves. But nobody joins the princes, and the people choose men of republican principles to give them a constitution. What inference can be drawn from this, but that the French people in general wished for a republican form of government.

It is difficult, however, to believe, that a nation which was fond, to idolatry, of monarchy a very few years ago, should so suddenly have adopted republican principles; or if the majority really have done so, there is reason to believe, that this majority does not consist of people of any property whatever, but of the very lowest of the populace, who have nothing. It must be remembered, that when the national assembly, on the 10th of August, decreed a convention, they also decreed, that, setting aside the former distinction of active and inactive citizens, every Frenchman, who is not in a state of servitude, whether he could pay any tax or not, should be entitled to a vote for an elector to the convention; by which means

a vast crowd of the most indigent rabble, who were excluded formerly, did vote for the members of the present convention. It ought also to be remembered, that the elections were carried on after the slaughter of the Swiss, and of the king's friends in the Tuilleries, while the royal family were prisoners, and immediately after the massacres in the beginning of the present month; that the rulers at Paris had emissaries in all the departments influencing the elections; and that to oppose any election, supported by them, might raise a suspicion of aristocracy; finally, it is natural to believe that, in such circumstances, those who would have preferred a limited monarchy to a republic, used what influence they had, *not* to be elected deputies, and that none but republicans endeavoured to be chosen. These considerations may account for the number of republicans chosen as deputies for the convention, without this being a satisfactory proof that the majority of that part of the French nation, who can be supposed to trouble their heads about government at all, has adopted republican principles, or really believe the republican form the most suitable for so extensive and populous a country as France.

September 28.

The treatment which M. la Fayette has met with, since he was obliged to abandon his army, forms a strong presumption of the falsehood of the rumours of a correspondence between the court and the enemy on the frontiers; and is a proof, that he had not that treasonable intelligence with them of which he was loudly accused. People are at a loss to discover, upon what principle of justice he is detained and imprisoned by the Prussians.

It does not appear that M. la Fayette had any view but to maintain the king's authority as it was limited by the constitution. Brissot and other republicans were his accusers. He did all in his power, it must be confessed, to overturn the ancient arbitary government in France, and to establish a limited monarchy in its stead. The

sentiments and opinions of the French nation, with respect to government, have, no doubt, undergone a great alteration since the armies and fleets returned from serving in America; but the prevalence of republican notions in France is of a much later date, and M. la Fayette never adopted them:—a very few individuals excepted, the most zealous friends of freedom among the French had no wish beyond that of a limited monarchy; and some of the most enlightened men, that have appeared since the revolution, were convinced that monarchy, under proper limitations, is the firmest and most durable foundation upon which a system of national liberty can be built. The flight of the king to Varennes offered a pretext for the abolition of monarchy, if such a desire had prevailed in France at that time; and the sentiments of the Parisians were actually tried at that very period. Condorcet, Brissot, Petion, Buzot, Gregoire, Bonneville, and some others, had conferences and correspondences with each other, on the subject of establishing a republic on the ruins of the French monarchy. They were tempted by the opportunity which the flight of the king presented, by the very slight appearance of uneasiness or alarm which that incident occasioned, by the tranquillity and mutual confidence which appeared among the members of the national assembly, and, perhaps, they were excited by a conviction that the king never would act sincerely in support of a limited constitution; and that the only security they could have against despotism, was in a republican form of government. But the endeavours of this junto at that time were without effect; every hint of that nature was coldly received at Paris, and, of course, had little chance of producing heat in any other part of the kingdom: even the society of Jacobins were then against it; and Robespierre himself, in his declamations, avowed that he was an enemy to republicanism; for although he attempted to be a demagogue from the beginning of his political course, he did not declare himself a republican till the torrent of public opinion seemed to

rush violently that way. For the class of real republicans above mentioned, finding the nation averse to their favourite scheme, postponed any farther direct attempt at that time, but continued in conversation, and in writings, to propagate their principles and opinions, being determined to seize the first opportunity that offered to put them in action; and that such opportunities might occur the more frequently, they were extremely assiduous in impressing on the minds of the people a continual jealousy of the king, and the idea that there existed, what they called, an Austrian party, whose object was to overturn the constitution, and establish the ancient arbitrary government in France.

There are strong reasons for believing that they used every means to provoke a war with the emperor, in the hopes that, during a war, the people's suspicions would increase, and that the court would be tempted into measures, which would afford the republicans pretexts, and, perhaps, the means of overwhelming monarchy in the ruins of a constitution which they considered as but a feeble support for freedom. Republican principles were at length adopted, and avowed in the society of the Jacobins of Paris; they, by their influence and numerous correspondences, spread them all over France; and they flourished with peculiar strength and exuberancy in the south.

Mirabeau was always a friend to a limited monarchy, and against a republican form of government; which, in his opinion, was incompatible with the extent of the French empire, and the character of the French nation. On his deathbed, he said, that with him the French monarchy would die: he probably knew of the project formed in favour of a republic, and that it would succeed, for a time at least, when no man of equal powers with himself remained in France to oppose it.

September 29.

By late accounts from Paris, the treatment which the

king and royal family experience at the Temple is harsher than ever. In the assembly, the members speak of him as the greatest of criminals, and the populace are inspired with hatred, and a desire of vengeance.

Of all the means which the republican party have adopted to bring about their favourite plan, the most unjustifiable is, the calumniating the king. Ever since his acceptance of the constitution, they have been indefatigable in their endeavours to render him, his government, and monarchical government in general, odious in the eyes of the people.

If a vast majority of the French nation wished for a republican form of government, and had pronounced their wishes in a clear unequivocal manner; and if the members of the convention were convinced that it would be more conducive than any other to the prosperity of their country, it would have been more manly, more just, and, perhaps, more politic, to have decreed that form of government, and given those for their reasons, than to pretend that they were driven into that measure by the treachery of the king, accusing him of a design to overturn that constitution, which they themselves were undermining; and representing a prince of moderation and humanity, as a despotic blood-thirsty tyrant. Politicians are so habituated to conceal the real motives of their conduct, that they sometimes assign false ones unnecessarily, and when the true would have been more creditable.

This method of rendering a republic palatable in France, resembles in falsehood the policy of those who, at the time of the revolution in England, propagated the despicable story that, when the queen pretended to be in labour, a child, in a warming-pan, was introduced into her bed-chamber, to be imposed on the nation as the prince of Wales.

To give this as a reason for placing William and Mary on the throne, was an implication that, if the child could be proved to be the real son of James, William would have had no right to the crown; and was departing from

the great whig principle, that a king who endeavours to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and people, and violating the fundamental laws, is deemed to have forfeited the crown; which surely is a much more manly foundation to build a revolution upon, than the story of the warming-pan, whether true or false.

One among many differences between the state of the two nations at these two periods is, that England, a little before the year 1688, was so much intimidated by the executions on account of the Rye-House plot, and of Monmouth's insurrection, that nothing less than the persevering attacks upon the laws and religion of the country, by the infatuated king, could have animated the nation to those exertions which brought about the revolution.

Whereas France seems to have been so much elevated by her recent success, in reducing the power of the crown, as to drive on furiously to republicanism, regardless of the concessions and accommodating temper of the prince, of the particular character of her own children, and of the dangers and difficulties attending a republican form of government.

Since, however, they have decreed that kind of government, whether they are thought to have acted wisely or foolishly in so doing, policy unites with humanity in declaring, that they ought to behave in all other respects with generosity to the unfortunate prince and his family, who are the victims of that decree; and if they do not, it requires no spirit of prophecy to foresee, that they will draw upon themselves the hatred and execration of mankind.

The republican party are aware of this, and have no hand in the harsh measures now adopted; but they have it not now in their power to stop the effect of that prejudice, which they themselves have so much contributed to raise against the king; and which another set of men their enemies, are endeavouring to make subservient to views of their own.

The republicans wished for the destruction of monarchy, but not the murder of the monarch!—Their rivals may have resolved on the destruction of the monarch, while they hope to find an opportunity of re-establishing monarchy under a prince of their own choosing.

September 30.

A man arrived at this town yesterday, who pretended that he came from Dumourier's army: he said, they had surrounded the Prussians, who were in the most deplorable condition for want of provisions; that they had already been driven to the necessity of eating one-half of their horses, and would surrender at discretion when the remainder of their cavalry was devoured.

This was the state of affairs when he left the camp; but having been detained a day on the road by a fall, a courier from the army had overtaken him, who was going to Paris with accounts that the French, not having patience till the Prussians should finish their horses, had attacked their intrenchments, cut a great number of them in pieces, and that the rest were retreating as fast as they could. I had heard this man's story, and saw him telling it to one circle after another in the market-place; and to shew how effectually the Prussians had been *hachés en morceaux*, that was his phrase, he flourished with his sabre, inviting the spectators to examine it, for he declared he had received it as a present from the courier, who had taken it from a Prussian grenadier in the field of battle, and had afterwards turned its edge against those for whom it had been drawn.

The crowd gazed with awful admiration on the sabre; some of the boldest touched it: and as it was a good deal hacked, it was considered as a confirmation of the victory, and of the truth of every circumstance of the man's narrative. Some incredulous persons, however, suspected that he had been sent with an encouraging tale to spirit up people to offer themselves as volunteers.

October 1.

In all likelihood there will be no farther account of yesterday's victory; but it is certain, that an unsuccessful attack was made by the Prussians on General Kellerman's army, encamped on the heights of Valmy, on the 20th. As it appears that Kellerman maintained his position, so far it may be considered as a victory. Dumourier however says, in his letter to the war minister, that although the Prussians did not carry their point, they continue their march by his left, and he expects to be attacked immediately: he writes with his usual confidence, promises to press them very close, and finally, to give a good account of them—but still it appears that the Germans are advancing.

October 2.

I heard sometime since that the duke of Rochefoucault was assassinated as he was going from his house in Normandy to the waters of Forge, in company with the duchess; I did not then believe it, but now find this horrid fact confirmed. The murder of no man in France could excite more just horror and indignation; M. de la Rouchefoucault was universally esteemed as a man of integrity, and an early and disinterested friend of freedom: it is given out that the murder was accidental and through mistake: I fear it was by such an accident as produced the massacre at Versailles. The duke was president of the department of Paris on the 20th of June, and active to bring the leaders and abettors of the shameful insurrection of that day to justice. I delay mentioning the particulars of this murder till I have them from better authority than I have hitherto had.

October 3.

Among the small number of prisoners who were saved from the swords of the assassins on the bloody 2d of September was M. Cazotte, a man of 74 years of age, formerly commissioner-general of the marine, but who had for

several years lived in retirement at his villa near Epernay.

This old gentleman had been arrested at his house in the country, and brought to the prison of the Abbaye, in consequence of letters written by him, and found among the papers of a M. Pouteau, secretary to M. de la Porte, from which it appeared, that he was in correspondence with the emigrants; that he advised the king to escape from Paris, and had transmitted a plan for that purpose; that he had also advised the dissolution of the national assembly; for these, and other parts of his conduct to the same tendency, he was detained in the Abbaye in expectation of a legal trial.

But, on the 2d of September, when determined murderers made a mockery of the forms of law, and chosen assassins seized the sword of justice; when the prisoner was surrounded at his trial by pikes smoking from recent slaughter, and within hearing of the screams of those who had been just dragged from the bar where he stood; on that dreadful day, M. Cazotte was brought before the horrid tribunal within the prison. Several prisoners had already been carried there,—none had survived their short examination above two minutes!—A sign from the pretended judge, or an equivocal word, was the fatal sentence, and the blow of death followed as the prisoner was led from the bar.

When M. Cazotte appeared—the list of names was examined by these inquisitors—no mark of favour was seen at his—the signal of death was given, and he was led out to slaughter!—But, before he received the stroke of death, his daughter, a beautiful young lady of seventeen, sprung upon her father's neck, exclaiming, in a transport of terror and filial affection, Mercy! mercy! O, mercy! —my father! my father!

The grey hairs of the old man, the affecting appearance and exclamations of the young lady, arrested the arms of the assassins, and melted the hearts of the people!—The cries of Grace, grace! and Vive la Nation!

were heard.—The old gentleman and his daughter were conducted in safety to the house of a friend, amidst the applause of the multitude!

This admirable young woman had never separated from her father, overcoming her horror for a prison crowded with men; surmounting her terror, her delicacy, and every consideration which could render the situation repugnant to her mind: filial love, and a strong sense of duty, enabled her to attend him during his confinement in the Abbaye, and to administer every comfort and consolation in her power.

I wish, from my soul, that the story had ended here.

This unfortunate old man was again arrested, again imprisoned, and, in virtue of a decree of 11th of September, brought before the tribunal which had been appointed on the 17th of August for the trial of conspirators, and whose functions had been interrupted by the massacres.

The first defence he offered was in the form of a protest against a second trial, as he had been already tried by judges constituted by the *peuple souverain* to examine the guilt or innocence of the prisoners: that he had been acquitted, and set at liberty by the voice of the people, and could not be made to undergo a new trial, without insulting the sovereignty of the people, which they all professed to acknowledge.

This plea was disregarded, the trial went on; the accusation was thought to be proved, and M. Cazotte was condemned to lose his head.

Without considering the merits of the original accusation, or of the protest which the prisoner, by the advice of counsel, no doubt, had entered, did not compassion and humanity plead *like angels trumpet-tongued* against his condemnation?

Let it be supposed that he deserved the pains of death —Good God! had he not already suffered them a thousand times over? Had he not drunk, to the very dregs, the bitterest cup of mortality that could be presented to

the lips of man? In what do the pains of death consist? Not surely in the actual stroke which puts an end to reflection and feeling, but in what this most unfortunate man had already endured—in the agonies and terrors which the view of an immediate, violent, and cruel death produces in the mind.

What unfeeling hearts must they have, who, unmoved by those considerations, and the tears of his virtuous daughter, could sentence him to undergo a second time the pains of death!

The old gentleman, however, heard the sentence with a serene countenance, took a tender leave of his inimitable daughter, and went to the place of execution with unshaken courage!—He made his grey locks be cut from his head, folded them carefully, and desired that they might be delivered to her.—A recollection of her sorrow alone could disturb him! it is said that he gave this message with a faultering voice.—Then, turning to the executioner, he assumed an undaunted air, and bade him do his duty.

October 4.

It is now certain that the Prussians are retreating. Dumourier has made good all the assurances he gave to the conventional assembly; and that self-confidence, which was by many imputed to a vain-glorious and boasting disposition, is now thought to have proceeded from superior talents and penetration.

This news occasions universal joy in France; yet a very sensible man told me to-day, that he thought it more than counterbalanced by the spirit of party and dissension which appears in the national assembly. Marat has been prompting the people to new massacres! In one of his late journals there is the following passage.—'If the basis of the constitution is not fixed within the first eight days after the meeting of the convention, you have nothing to expect from your deputies.'—And he concludes with these significant words.—'*O peuple babillard, si tu sçavois agir!*'

Yet this man is so great a favourite of the people, that the convention seem to be afraid of ordering him to be arrested and punished. It is astonishing how he retains their affections, for the only means he uses is, exciting one-half to cut the throats of the other; yet the more people are murdered, the remainder seem to like him the better. This brings to my remembrance a fellow I once saw sewing up the mouths of ferrets: shocked at the unfeeling manner in which he passed and repassed the needle through the poor little animal's lips, which were all flowing with blood, I desired him to desist, saying, how can you be so cruel?

Loard, sir, replied he, it b'en't cruel; they likes it.

Likes it!

Aye, that they does, resumed the brute; and the more I makes them bleed, they likes me the better.

October 5.

The great evil of the ancient government of France was, that the executive power was too strong, and all the other powers of the state too weak: so that, however unjustly the former was exercised, the people had no means of redress or of resistance but by open insurrection; a measure always dangerous, and hardly ever used, except when men are rendered desperate.

The framers of the late constitution of France fell into the opposite extreme; they left the executive power too much exposed to attacks, and too unable to defend those rights and prerogatives with which the constitution endowed it: at least this was evidently the case at the beginning of their new government, before the nation, which was intoxicated with the victory over despotism, had time to acquire more sedate and more rational notions concerning freedom.

Perhaps, however, that form of government which was reared by the constituent assembly might have stood, and, by the gradual alterations which time would have discovered to be necessary, might have been matured into a prosperous and lasting system, had it not been for the so-

ciety of Jacobins. This society, by diffusing the spirit of liberty, and keeping the people of France steady to the cause of freedom, was of great service while the constitution was forming, but proved its destruction after it was formed.

Let us suppose a society as numerous as that of the Jacobins, with some members of both houses of parliament in it, established in Palace-yard, and that every question of a public nature was debated and decided in this club, before it was brought into either house of parliament, or while it was in agitation there; and let us farther suppose that a mob are always ready, at the command of the leading members of this same society, to insult those of either house of parliament, of whose public conduct they disapprove; in this case, what would become of the present constitution of Great Britain?

This is precisely the state in which the legislature of France was for several months previous to the 10th of August. For the conduct of the Jacobin society in Paris tended to vilify the national assembly, and to render the executive power a mere pageant; this had driven some of the most respectable members out of that club. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the king wished for such a check upon this society, as would put it out of its power to arrest the action of government, and raise a ferment in the country as often as any public measure was adopted which it disapproved: every friend of the constitution must have had the same desire. Those who had the greatest influence with the Jacobins were averse to the war, and showed great solicitude to prevent it. There is reason to believe that the court of Vienna did not desire war more than they; but displayed some hostile appearances, to give the king and his ministers the more weight in their endeavours to resist the attacks of that society, and to obtain a decree of the national assembly, precluding those questions which were to be debated in the assembly from being previously discussed in the society. The only communication which was between the court of

the Tuilleries and that of Vienna, had this for its object, and nothing else; and even this communication was begun and carried on by certain agents, who pretended to the latter that they had more influence with the former than they had in reality, and made the same pretensions to the former respecting their influence with the latter, by which means both were deceived. But, taking this in the worst light, it is very different from the king's having an understanding with that court, after hostilities were begun, with a view to facilitate the entrance of foreign armies into France.

There are good grounds for believing that a great majority of the members of the legislative assembly were sincere supporters of the constitution, and had no fear of the king's having any design to overturn it: Why then did this majority allow a minority to destroy a constitution with which they were satisfied? Because the leaders of the minority were members of the society of Jacobins, had influence with some of the sections to besiege the bar of the national assembly with inflammatory addresses against the king and his ministers, while they had a mob always ready at their instigation to insult those deputies who supported government; and at length, finding that they could not carry the question against M. de la Fayette, they found means to new-model the general council of the municipality of Paris, to excite the insurrection of the 10th of August, and usurp the whole power of the state, as has been shewn.

In other revolutions of which history gives us an account, those who are at first employed as the instruments of insurrection, are afterwards thrown aside by the chiefs as useless or dangerous; but in this revolution in France, those who were employed as instruments retain their importance, and the chiefs are thrown aside.

The Lameths, and M. Duport, who first proposed the plan of establishing political societies all over France, which maintain a constant correspondence with the Jacobin society at Paris, have fallen victims to that measure,

The duke of Rochefoucault, M. la Fayette, Barnave, Talleyrand, Lewis of Narbonne, M. Beaumetz, Garnier, Clermont-Tonnere, were all instrumental in bringing about the revolution, prompted, as there is every reason to believe, by a genuine love of freedom, and a sincere desire of establishing a limited monarchy in France, and of maintaining that constitution for which some of them had made very great sacrifices. What is become of these men? Some have been assassinated, some imprisoned, and the rest obliged to fly from their country.

Condorcet, Buzot, Brissot, Petion, Kersaint, Gensonnet, Bonneville, shewed an early partiality for a republican form of government, either from a belief that it is preferable to any other, or from a suspicion that the king would not rest satisfied with the constitution, but use all the powers it left in his hand to restore the ancient despotism. Acting on this suspicion as if it were a certainty, they used every means in their power to give their countrymen the same partiality for a commonwealth which they had themselves; and, among other means, they did not scruple to accuse the king of plots for overturning the constitution, of which they had not better proof, perhaps, than the idea that it was natural for him to wish it overturned.

Vergniaud and Guadet, both men of distinguished talents, were originally friends to a limited monarchy as established by the constitution, as appears by a memorial signed by them, and presented to the king; but having a better opinion of the republican party than of any other in the assembly, they joined them after the 10th of August, and have acted with them ever since.

This party, however, had no immediate active hand in exciting or carrying on the attack upon the palace on the 10th of August; they seem to have waited for the event, in the intention of establishing their favourite form of government in case the assailants should be successful, and to afford them protection in a contrary event.

The most active agents of the insurrection were, Albite,

Bazire, Camille Desmoulins, Merlin of Thionville, and, above all, Chabot the Capuchin, who were continually going to the different suburbs, and preaching revolt among the people. These men were members of the Jacobin society, assisted in this work by other members, particularly Santerre, and the leader of the *fédérés* from Marseilles. M. Barbaroux, who was since chosen a deputy from Marseilles to the convention, and who had great influence with the band of fédérés, was also a most active agent in the insurrection, though otherwise unconnected with Danton's party, and intimately attached to the friends of Roland.

It appears somewhat surprising, that while those just named were instigating the people to attack the palace of the Tuilleries; while Danton, Chabot, Collot d'Herbois, and others, were new-modelling the general council of the commune; and while Guadet and Vergniaud were presiding alternately in the assembly, during the alarming and dangerous night of the 9th and morning of the 10th of August, there is no mention of Robespierre. He had been, however, the chief personage in the society of Jacobins for several months before that epoch; but he did not judge it proper to appear again till the affair was decided by the slaughter of the Swiss, and the imprisonment of the royal family. He then resumed his place at the Jacobin club, and soon after got himself elected of the general council of the municipality, of which he became a leading member; and, in conjunction with Panis, Servan, and Le Gendre the butcher, was most assiduous in promoting the numerous arrests, and filling the prisons, which were dreadfully emptied at the beginning of September.

But, as the republican party had still less connection with the massacres of September than with the insurrection in August; as they express a desire of inquiring into that horrid transaction, and of bringing the authors to punishment; and as they are all attached to the minister Roland, of whose integrity they are convinced; Danton,

Chabot, Merlin, Camille Desmoulins, Collot d'Herbois, Bazire, Albite, and Robespierre, declare against them, excite Marat to proscribe them in his bloody journal, and use every means to expose them to the fury of the people: M. Egalité himself, perceiving that those means are already attended with some degree of success, and probably imagining that it will increase, seems inclined to attach himself to the party of Danton, Robespierre, and their followers. So that very possibly those who took so much and such early pains to establish a republic, and who expected, no doubt, to act a principal part in it when established, may, like those who brought on the revolution, and formed the constitution, be supplanted and deprived of power, perhaps of life, by a set of men far inferior to them in talents, but who seem at present to enjoy more of the people's favour. Thus, through all the stages of this revolution, those who have been the authors of the most important alterations, whether for the better or the worse, have been supplanted by inferior agents; because, having obtained their object by flattering the people, they then wish the hands of government to be strengthened, the laws to be put in force, and the future exertions of those to be restrained, by whom they obtained their power. But other demagogues start up, who, having no part in the new government, tell the people that many improvements are still needed; that their new governors, under the pretence of restoring law and order, want to tyrannize over them. They adopt some favourite prejudice of the people, and offer them some new privilege, however pernicious, which has been hitherto refused, and so gain their confidence; for, those who promise new favours have a great advantage over those who put men in mind of old ones, and an harangue in praise of licentiousness pleases the multitude more than one which inculcates obedience to law.

Thus the second class of leaders are driven out of power by a third, who, on the same principles, may soon be excluded by a fourth: but le peuple souverain retains

the power, and, although divided into different parts, like the polypus, every detached portion preserves its activity, and assumes all the faculties and energy of the complete sovereign.

If the present state of affairs continues much longer, anarchy and confusion must overwhelm the land: and it will be of little importance to wretched individuals, whether their misery is derived from a combination of foreign invaders, or their own internal dissensions.

But as a national convention, from all the departments of France, is now assembled at Paris, and as another very unexpected event has likewise taken place, namely, the retreat of the Prussian army, it might be imagined that a permanent and free government would still be established. It must be confessed, however, that the accounts we hear of some of the deputies does not greatly support this expectation: those elected by the department of Paris, in particular, are neither celebrated for talents, nor for that degree of moderation and prudence which the times require; and many augur ill of the wisdom of the convention, from the precipitate manner in which they agreed to the abolition of the constitution, and of royalty, on the first day of meeting, at the proposition of a man of little or no weight. Yet, on the measures which this conventional assembly, such as it is, shall adopt, the fate of the extensive and populous nation of France, perhaps the tranquillity of Europe, seems in a considerable degree to depend: this consideration excites so strong a desire of being witnesses to their proceedings, that we have resolved to set out to-morrow for Paris, through part of French Flanders, by the way of Lille.

Aire, October 7.

We left Calais this morning, and came to St. Omers in the expectation of receiving such information as would determine us whether it might be expedient to take Lille in our way to Paris: for at Calais the accounts were con-

tradictory; according to some the siege was raised, according to others it still continued.

On arriving at St. Omers, we were assured that the Austrian army had retired from before Lille. We therefore set out directly for this place, and arrived just time enough to be admitted before the gates were shut; but we had very great difficulty in finding lodgings: all the inns being full of people, particularly of women and children from Lille, we were obliged to drive about in the dark from inn to inn for a considerable time before we could find one to receive us; and at last were glad to be allowed to take shelter in a miserably nasty house, with the sign of the Three Kings over the door. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the neglected and despised state of this inn, than that a sign so obnoxious is tolerated, or rather overlooked.

We were much disappointed on our arrival at Aire, to find the accounts of the retreat of the Austrians from before Lille as uncertain and contradictory as those of Calais. Not trusting to the information I received at our own wretched inn, I went to a coffeehouse in search of some more to be depended on: I addressed myself to a grave-looking man who smoked his pipe at the door; I soon found that he knew nothing of the matter, and was more disposed to ask questions than to answer them. He said he perceived I was a stranger, and asked where I lodged; I answered, *Aux Trois Rois.* 'Aux Trois Rois!' repeated he with a grimace, 'ma foi, monsieur, vous avez choisi là des hôtes qui ne sont plus à la mode.'*

Although none of the inhabitants of Aire, with whom I conversed, could inform me whether the Austrians had left Lille or not, they were all able and most willing to tell many stories of their cruelties. Whether they added *aught in malice* I know not, but I am persuaded they did *nothing extenuate.* The maid of the inn, after giving a

* At the Three Kings!—Truly, sir, you have chosen your lodgings with people who are not much in fashion at present.

terrible account of the devastation and destruction occasioned by the pillaging in the villages, said it was not easy to tell whether the Hulans or the red-hot bullets were the most mischievous; but, continued she,—'Ce qui est certain, monsieur, est, que le sang coule dans ce pauvre Lille depuis huit jours comme l'eau coule dans les rues d'Aire.—Ah! monsieur, cela déchire le cœur!' *

Having pronounced this with a sympathising accent, she went out of the room, and I heard her singing a very gay tune as she went down stairs.

The road to Paris this way is much more agreeable than by Boulogne, the land being more fertile, the fields better cultivated, the country better inhabited, and the peasantry richer. A great deal of tobacco is raised in the country around St. Omers, and between that town and Aire: the leaves are hung up to dry on the walls of the cottages, and on the sides of the stacks of corn and of beans in the farm-yards.

We passed long trains of waggons with grain for the army now assembling near Lille.

Arras, October 8.

Aire has the appearance of a very poor town, and it might be imagined that the number of women and children who have fled to it from Lille would render it also a very melancholy place: I could not help remarking, however, that the first thing we heard last night when we entered the town, was the tune of *ça ira*; and on quitting it this morning the same tune was resounding through the streets, the passengers, whether going to their work or to matins, moving their heads and steps in cadence all the way.

As a great many post-horses are employed in the public service, it was with great difficulty that we got to Bethune. When we arrived at the post-house, which is on the outside of the fortifications, we were informed, that we could

* What is quite certain, is, that blood flows in that poor town of Lille, in as great abundance as water in the streets of Aire. It is enough to break one's heart.

not get horses for the chaise in less than three or four hours, and none for the servants even then.

We walked into the town, which is beautifully situated on a rising ground, with a delightful prospect of a rich country all around. It was market-day, and the town was crowded with well-dressed, cheerful-looking peasants.

We entered into conversation with an officer of cavalry on the public square: he had left Lille three days before. He said that the firing was violent when he came away, but there had been none heard since Saturday night:—this is Monday. He had since heard that the enemy had retired to the distance of a league from the town: whether they meant to renew the bombardment or not, he did not know; but at any rate he was persuaded they would not be able to take the town, as the inhabitants were resolved to be buried in the ruins rather than surrender.

Another person accosted me soon after, as I was looking at the tree of liberty which is planted in the market-place; it was hung round with garlands of flowers, with emblems of freedom, and various inscriptions. He informed me that it was not yet certainly known whether the Austrians had entirely relinquished their attack on Lille, that at the worst they could only destroy the houses; but would never be able to take the town. On my asking if he thought we should be allowed to enter the town, in case we were to proceed by that route, he answered, that the town had never been entirely blockaded, and that even during the bombardment, which was made on the opposite side, the gate towards Bethune had been kept open for several hours every day; that as we were provided with passports, we would be admitted as soon as we arrived; but he added, that the roads were very much cut and destroyed, and he questioned whether we should find horses at the post-houses between Bethune and Lille. On the whole, he said, we must expect to meet with many obstacles, and therefore advised us to go to Paris by Arras. We determined to follow his advice. He then explained the allegoric figures that had been placed round the tree of li-

berty two days before on account of some public feast or rejoicing: this led him on to speak of the revolution, to which he appeared to be a zealous friend. He professed a great esteem for the English, because they are the friends of freedom; and added, that although some of his acquaintance had a strong persuasion that the British cabinet was watching for an opportunity of declaring war against France, when she was attacked and menaced by so many other powers, yet he, for his part, could not believe that so cowardly a policy would be adopted by so brave a nation. The conduct of the French court towards Great Britain during the contest with America occurred to me, but I did not think it expedient to remind him of it. He continued to observe, that France being now unanimous for a republic, all the efforts of their enemies to conquer the country, or dictate a government to the inhabitants, would prove vain; they would be exterminated, rather than submit to foreign powers, or to their old oppressors.—'We have been,' added he with great warmth, 'too long oppressed by a race of weak luxurious princes, and trod upon by an insolent yet slavish noblesse; it is difficult to get rid *de toutes ces vermines*, but as they are now mostly gone, it will be our faults if we ever allow them to return.'—Here I could not help reminding him, that many of the nobility had distinguished themselves as the friends of liberty, and some were actually at the head of the armies of the republic at that moment; I mentioned Custine, Biron, and Montesquieu. He acknowledged the merit of those I had named, and of some others; 'but, as for the greater part of the rest,' added he, 'the only service they ever rendered their country was by running away from it: if they had all remained, the democrates would not have such an easy game, and Heaven knows what might have happened; but they are gone, and it is our business to keep them off; let them go and crouch to other kings, and domineer over other slaves; none are to be found in France.—This is the land of liberty and equality.—A camp is already formed at Douay, another is

forming near Lille: if thirty thousand more men are required, they will be raised in this neighbourhood without difficulty: hardly a peasant or tradesman in France, but is zealous in the cause of freedom, and ready to shed his blood for his country.'—The man talked with such animation of voice and gesture as drew a crowd around us, who all seemed to sympathise with what he said; this was not unobserved by the speaker, who by the looks he threw on the surrounding circle, and by the elevation of voice, shewed that he was as solicitous to be heard by it as by me.

I was told, after he quitted me, that he was not a citizen of Bethune, as I first imagined, but a Parisian. I understand that there are many spies and emissaries in the various towns of France, hired by the executive power for the express purpose of spreading those sentiments, and also to examine what are the prevailing opinions. Whether this man is one of those I know not, but he could not have shewn himself a more zealous republican had he been ever so well paid for it.

When we returned to the post-house, we were informed that we might have horses for the chaises, but there were no bidets for the servants, all of them being employed by the couriers who were continually passing and repassing on the public service. There was a necessity therefore to take the servants into the chaises, and in this manner we were dragged through very bad roads to Arras.

We met a battalion of national guards on the way. The citizens of Amiens no sooner heard that Lille was invested, than they raised, clothed, and armed this battalion at their own expense. The men seem in high spirits, and were marching with great ardour to Lille.

Robespierre is a native of Arras; this great luminary of the revolution not only renders Arras more conspicuous, but has thrown a ray of light on his brother, who lived here in obscurity, but is now chosen a deputy to the convention.

Cuvilly, October 9.

We left Arras at six in the morning, and with much difficulty arrived at this wretched village a little after it was dark; we had been detained several hours at Peronne, waiting for the return of post-horses, and afterwards till the poor animals were fed, and had in some measure recovered from their fatigue.

Peronne is strongly fortified, but the only garrison in it at present consists of citizens; they are however well armed, and most of the men, and all the officers, are in the uniform of the national guards.

A battalion of the gens d'armes of Paris are expected at Peronne this night. The quarter-master with some other of the corps are already arrived.

I was witness to a scene which will give some idea of the kind of liberty which exists in France at present.

I had joined three officers of the city-guards, who were walking in the square opposite to the post-house. One of them, a very genteel and obliging man, was giving me what information I asked, when two men, in the uniform of the expected battalion, came up to us, and one of them, in a haughty and menacing manner, demanded how it happened that the fleurs de lis and some other symbols of royalty, to which he pointed, were not effaced from the steeple and the front of the town-house.

The officer replied, that it was the business of the mayor, and he knew nothing about it. On which the other burst forth into many abusive expressions against the mayor, calling him rascal and aristocrate, and swearing that when he met him, he would cut him in pieces: as he said this, he drew his sabre, and seemed disposed to quarrel with all around him.

Another officer of the city-guards, more advanced in years than the former, addressed this furious fellow in a soothing manner, assuring him that the municipality had already given orders that the emblems of which he complained should all be removed; that the reason of its not being already done was because the mayor, who was a

very honest man, and of course no aristocrate, had been entirely occupied in sending necessaries to their distressed friends at Lille, and in providing good quarters for the battalion of Parisians which was expected.

This conciliatory language smoothed the threatening brow of the man, who at last sheathed his sword, and walked away with his companion. Each of these fellows had a brace of pistols stuck in his belt; and there was something in their looks, as well as their deportment, which gave me a suspicion that they belonged to the assassinating band of September.

For the first two posts after leaving Peronne, we were continually meeting small bodies of the gens d'armes who were hastening to the relief of Lille: they march in a very straggling manner. The battalion consists of a thousand men; I do not suppose there were above two hundred in a body, with the colours. They cried as we passed, Vive la nation! vive la république! and in a manner that sufficiently denoted that it was expected we should do the same, which we did accordingly: but this ceremony becoming a little fatiguing, one of the servants refrained from joining in the cry when he was invited.—A soldier observing this, seized the bridle of his horse, and ordered him to repeat the words; with which as the man did not immediately comply, another levelled his piece, and would probably have fired, if Lord Lauderdale had not darted his head out of the window of the carriage, calling out, that the man did not understand their language, that he was un Anglois; on which the soldier raised his musket, and a young officer waving his hat and calling out, Vivent les Anglois! we passed on. Although there is no danger of a man's losing his money by robbery on the highway when he travels in France, he is in considerable danger of losing his life, if he happens not to be attentive and obedient to the word of command on occasions like this

It was fifty to one that this servant was not shot through the head, or thrust through with a bayonet, for his tar-

diness in the present instance; and if he had, some one would have observed, as the man did at Clermont, *C'est un homme de moins*, and no farther notice would have been taken of the incident.

The whole of this battalion consisted of stout men, all well armed and well clothed, but there seemed to be little subordination among them; and I understand that in general there is less in those regiments which are formed of Parisians than in the other corps.

When we arrived at the post-house, a considerable number were carousing and singing songs in honour of the revolution. They seemed desirous to converse with us, and one who was a good deal elevated with wine, proclaimed aloud the exploits they were to perform. 'After driving *ces Gueux d'Autrichiens*,' said he, 'from Lille, we shall follow them to Brussels, and there pass the winter. Another, addressing Lord Lauderdale, said, 'Je vois bien que vous êtes Anglais, monsieur, mais j'espere que vous n'êtes pas de la chambres des pairs qui sont tous de . . .' Here he added a very gross epithet, in too great use all over France.

They then proceeded on their march, vociferating certain songs of the grossest nature, and shamefully abusive of the king and queen. Several were in a situation which put it out of their power to march to Peronne that day. Their comrades, however, prepared a carriage for them, which at length drove away.

I asked the postmaster if those men were obedient to their officers.—'Comme vous êtes à moi, monsieur,' answered he, 'et peut-être pas même autant—comme je vais vous le prouver;'—this excited my curiosity—'For,' continued the postmaster, 'as I am persuaded that *Monsieur* is a man who listens to reason, you would par conséquence comply with what I required, provided it were just and reasonable; whereas those men never mind what their officers say, whether it is reasonable or not.'

There was something more precise and formal in this man's manner than is usual with Frenchmen, which in-

duced me to inquire a little about him of one of the postillions; who told me he had formerly been a schoolmaster in a neighbouring village.

He gave us another proof of his power of reasoning: on his putting only two horses to a chaise instead of three, which is usual, he advertised us that he expected to be paid for three. I hinted that this did not seem quite reasonable: he immediately undertook to prove that it was highly reasonable in him to exact as much for two horses as for three, or, if any difference were to be made, somewhat more: we were all attention.—'I will have the honour, gentlemen,' resumed he with a solemn air, 'of making this as clear as day-light. You must all know that travellers are often detained in the middle of their journey by an accident happening to one of their horses in their carriage; but there is a greater chance of this happening to one of three horses than of two.'—His argument was allowed to be irresistible, and he was paid his full demand. 'All that I ever desire of any mortal,' said the postmaster as he received payment, 'is, that he will only hear me, and listen to the voice of reason—but those men who are just gone would do neither.'

I understood that while he was proving to them that his bill was very reasonable, they had cut him short in the middle of his argument, and paid him with half; desiring him to recollect that salt, which before the revolution cost fourteen sols the pound, was now sold at two, and that the price of tobacco had been diminished in the same proportion.

Paris, October 10.

Having left our miserable quarters a little after five this morning, we arrived at Paris about four in the afternoon, passing through the lines which have been forming in the plains of St. Denis. Military men laugh at the idea of defending such a town as Paris by any intrenchments which could be made before the Prussians come, if they come at all; and which, if made, would require a

garrison of a hundred thousand men, and all the cannon in France to protect. The Parisians, however, seem pleased with these intrenchments; particularly the women, of whom we observed great numbers, with their usual gaiety, intermingled with the workmen.

Having written to an acquaintance to inform him about what time we expected to be at Paris, we drove to the Hotel des Tuilleries, where he had engaged lodgings, which were preferred on account of their vicinity to the conventional assembly.

It will not be improper to mention here some things which took place in the convention during our absence from Paris, but of which I did not know the particulars till my return.

One most important object, and which demanded the early attention of the convention, was to vindicate, as far as is possible, the French nation from the foul stain of the late massacres, by bringing the real authors of them to punishment. To this the convention was invoked by justice, and prompted by every feeling of our nature.—In an assembly in which there are some clergymen, many lawyers, and, as I am told, a considerable number of philosophers, it was not to be supposed that a measure so necessary and becoming would be long delayed. But it is somewhat extraordinary, that a seaman was the first who fixed the attention of the assembly upon it.

'Il est temps,' said Kersaint, 'd'élever des échafauds pour ceux qui commettent les assassinats, et pour ceux qui les provoquent, &c. . . . Il y a peut-être plus de courage qu'on ne pense à s'élever contre les assassins, mais dussai-je tomber sous leurs coups, je serai digne de la confiance de mes concitoyens.' *

He then moved that four commissioners should be im-

* It is full time to erect scaffolds for those who commit assassinations, or prompt others to commit them, &c. . . . Perhaps, it requires more courage than might be imagined to speak against assassins; but should I fall the victim of their vengeance, I will shew myself worthy of the confidence of my fellow-citizens.

mediately appointed to propose the most effectual measures for the preventing and punishing assassination, and that their plan should be presented to the convention the next day.

It could hardly be supposed that such a measure would be opposed.—Strange as this appears, however, it met with opposition.

Bazire observed, that France was still in the crisis of a revolution, and *very vigorous measures* were necessary.—It was true, he added, that many suspected persons had been arrested and punished; those persons had been endeavouring to raise a civil war; but, continued he, there are not four men to be found in all France capable to give a plan which can, in the present moment, reconcile the public interest with the rights of the citizens.

Tallien (he who was secretary to the council of the community on the 2d of September) said, that the existing laws against assassination were sufficient for the safety of the citizens, and proposed the order of the day to Kersaint's motion.

Others asked for its adjournment.

To demand the adjournment of such a motion, cried Vergniaud, is to demand impunity for assassins; to propose the order of the day is to propose anarchy.—There are men, added, he, who call themselves republicans, and are, in reality, the slaves of tyrants; they spread suspicions, hatred, and vengeance among the citizens—they wish to excite the French people, like the soldiers of Cadmus, to cut one another's throats instead of fighting the common enemy.

He ended an eloquent speech by supporting Kersaint's motion.

Collot d'Herbois and others said, that this motion was intended for establishing *a law of blood*, and that there were men in office who would use it for the destruction of the most distinguished patriots.

Some of those whom Collot d'Herbois meant by the most distinguished patriots are strongly suspected of being

the planners of the massacres—Collot d'Herbois himself is not clear of this suspicion, which accounts for the opposition to Kersaint's motion.

Merlin of Thionville opposed the motion, and went so far as to assert, that the baker who was murdered by the mob some months before, on a suspicion of engrossing grain to raise the price of bread, had been murdered on purpose to furnish a pretext for proclaiming martial law, and by that means to justify the troops for firing on the people, which was then intended, and afterwards performed in the Champ de Mars.—The queen, from motives of humanity, had shewn kindness and generosity to this man's widow;—in consequence of which the ridiculous falsehood, now mentioned by Merlin, was invented and propagated.

Kersaint spoke with energy against those absurd imputations; and Buzot, with strong and perspicuous reasoning, shewed that the proposed law was not to shed blood, but to prevent blood from being shed; and in addition proposed, that a guard should be formed from all the 83 departments for the immediate protection of the convention, that each department might have the conviction that its deputies could speak and vote freely, and were not influenced by fear either of the people in the galleries, or of the council-general of the community of Paris, which had usurped so much power, and had exercised it with so much tyranny.

It was at last decreed, that six commissioners should be appointed to form a law against the inciters to murder and assassination, and also to give in a plan for the formation of a guard to be at the disposal of the convention, which was to be drawn from all the 83 departments, to prevent the convention from being domineered over by the general council of commune of Paris, as the legislative assembly had been.

This general council exercises its usurped power in a dreadful manner: citizens are still arrested and imprisoned by orders issued by its members.

Two commissioners from this council declared at the election of the deputy at Auxerre, that the commune of Paris possessed the whole power of the state; that those chosen as deputies should put their confidence in the commune, and not in the national assembly, the ministers, or the generals.

Commissioners from the same council advised the inhabitants of Douay to erect scaffolds on the ramparts, and to execute all who were of a different opinion from them, as aristocrates and traitors.

And two other commissioners from that community raised such a spirit of insurrection at the electoral assembly of Seine and Marne, that fourteen persons were murdered in the tower of Meaux.—Those facts were announced by different members of the convention.

Nothing therefore can be more urgent than to deprive this community of its usurped power; and for this purpose it seems absolutely necessary that the convention should have guards, and such executive force at its command as will overbalance and keep in awe the rabble of the suburbs, who are at any time to be put in action by the influence of Santerre, and the money of another person who has a great deal at his command, which he is said to lavish among the sans-culottes of the suburbs, when any measure is to be carried for the interest of the party.

Sometime after this a most extraordinary scene was exhibited in the conventional assembly.—Merlin de Thionville, a man far more distinguished for zeal than prudence, declared that La Source had in private conversation said, that there was a faction in the convention for establishing a dictator, and he called on La Source to announce who this intended dictator was, that he might be instantly poniarded.

La Source, who must have been somewhat surprised to hear a private, perhaps a confidential remark, published in this manner, explained what he had said differently. He said that he had complained of the tyranny of certain men, who flatter and deceive the citizens of Paris, and who

point out the best friends of the people as victims to the rage of assassins: that such men were already dictators; that there was the greatest necessity for an armed force to secure the independence of the convention, and prevent it from being dictated to by those who had usurped illegal influence.—'Let those men of blood,' he added, 'tremble, and know that the same power which hurled Lewis from his throne, will not long suffer the despotism of others.'

But in the course of the debate Rebecqui, one of the deputies for Marseilles, in direct terms, accused the partisans of Robespierre of a design of raising him to the dictatorship.

Danton, dreading that this might draw on a discussion and produce an investigation which he wished to prevent, endeavoured with some address to turn the attention of the assembly to a different object. He moved that the pains of death should be decreed on any person who should attempt to destroy the unity of France, by dividing it into different commonwealths, bound together by a federative bond, like the United Provinces and the Cantons of Switzerland. Danton knew that Buzot, Vergniaud, Guadet, and others who were eager for the punishment of all who had been directly or indirectly concerned in promoting the murder of the prisoners, were accused of inclining to this plan of federative republics, which is by no means the wish of the majority of the convention—he therefore intended to intimidate them from prosecuting the assassins, by holding up the dread of being accused themselves.

Buzot, sensible of his intention, boldly opposed the insinuation. 'Who is it,' he exclaimed, 'that thinks of disuniting France? I propose that a guard for the conventional assembly shall be furnished by the 83 departments, with a view to union, and thereby to signify that the convention is equally under the care of them all: those who oppose this measure appear rather to wish for disunion.'

He put this in so clear a light, that Robespierre

thought the only means to prevent its evidence from being apparent to the most short-sighted of the assembly, was by overwhelming the argument with a torrent of words, and obscuring it in a mist of sophistry, both of which this popular orator has at his command.

He began by expatiating on his own patriotism, on his incorruptibility, and the services he had rendered the state while he sat in the constituent assembly.—The theme was attractive: but becoming less pleasing to the audience than to the orator himself, one of the members called out, '*Robespierre, veuxtu bien terminer cette longue kyrielle?* déclare nous franchement en quatre mots tes sentimens, et non ta vie passée.'* This, however, did not bring him to give any explicit answer to the accusation; he dwelt for an hour longer on the favourite subject with which he began, then launched into protestations of his love for his country, and of the incredibility of his ever forming any scheme against that freedom for which he had so long struggled; and finished by declaring his suspicions that there were among their body, those who watched an opportunity of dividing France, and then combining it into federate states; and therefore he seconded Danton's motion.

Barbaroux, a young man, and deputy from Marseilles, in support of what his colleague Rebecqui had asserted, declared, that, on his arrival at Paris, it had been insinuated to him by certain intimates of Robespierre, and particularly by Panis, that in the present emergency there was a necessity for uniting under some person of great popularity, in whom a power equal to that of the Roman dictators should be placed for a certain time; and that Robespierre, from his known patriotism and popularity, was the properest person they could fix upon for that office.

Panis endeavoured to defend himself by saying that

* Pray put an end to your tedious harangue, and inform us, in two words, of your sentiments on the point in question, and not of all your past life.

Barbaroux had assuredly either mistaken his words or meaning.—' Is it possible,' added he, wishing to conciliate his accuser, ' that Barbaroux, whom I love, because I know him to be a good patriot, can believe I ever meant such a thing?'

This manner of denying such a charge forms a strong presumption of its truth; for a man would hardly speak in such terms of another, who accused him falsely of so dangerous an offence.

Barbaroux, however, was not to be softened, but persisted in the charge. ' Who, besides yourself,' cried Panis, ' can witness that I ever made such a proposal?'

' I can,' cried Rebecqui, ' for I heard you.' This seemed to disconcert both Panis and Robespierre, and to silence and confound the whole party, till Marat, thinking the exigency worthy of his intrepidity of countenance, ascended the tribune. He no sooner appeared than murmurs and execrations arose in every corner of the assembly.

' It would appear,' said he, ' without any mark of emotion, ' that some in this assembly are my personal enemies.'

' All! all! we are all your enemies!' resounded from every quarter.

He lamented the general delusion with the accent of regret; and then assuming an air of courage, with a full swell of voice, he declared that he, and he only, had conceived the idea of appointing a dictator; that he had mentioned it to several, some of whom may have repeated it, but that the thought was originally his own. That, convinced as he had long been of the plots of a perfidious court, and as he still was of the treasons of many citizens, he thought that the exigency of the times required that the direction of the public affairs should be placed in the hands of an honest and determined man, an enlightened patriot, who, without fear or respect of persons, would *apply the axe of justice to the necks of the guilty.*—' Such is my own opinion,' continued he; ' I have published it;

and if your ideas have not soared to the height of mine, so much the worse for you.'

Such an inflated declaration issuing from a little dirty mortal, whose murky visage scarce overlooked the tribune, turned the indignation of the assembly into mirth, and many of the members burst into laughter.

But Vergniaud restored the gravity of the assembly, by bringing forward a very extraordinary circumstance, which points out pretty plainly those to whom the massacres of the prisoners, not only in Paris, but in every other part of France where they took place, are to be attributed.

He then read a letter signed by certain members of the council of the commune de Paris, which had been transmitted to all the municipalities of France, immediately after the slaughter of the prisoners at Paris in the beginning of September.

This letter is of so very singular a nature, that I think it proper to transcribe the whole.

Freres et amis, un affreux complôt tramé par la cour pour égorger tous les patriotes de l'empire François, complôt dans lequel un grand nombre de membres de l'assemblée nationale sont compromis, ayant réduit, le 9 du mois dernier, la commune de Paris à la cruelle nécessité de se servir de la puissance du peuple pour sauver la nation, elle n'a rien negligé pour bien mériter de la patrie.

Après les témoignages que l'assemblée nationale venoit de lui donner elle-même, eut-on pensé que dès-lors de nouveaux complôts se tramoient dans le silence, et qu'ils éclatoient dans le moment même, où l'assemblée nationale, oubliant qu'elle venoit de déclarer que la commune de Paris avoit sauvé la patrie, s'empressoit de la destituer, pour prix de son brûlant civisme ?

Fière de jouir de toute la plenitude de la confiance nationale qu'elle s'efforcera de meriter de plus en plus, placée au foyer de toutes les conspirations, et déterminée à périr pour le salut public, elle ne se glorifiera d'avoir rem-

pli pleinement ses devoirs que lorsqu'elle aura obtenu votre approbation, qui est l'objet de tous ses vœux, et dont elle ne sera certaine qu'après que tous les départemens *auront sanctionné ses mesures pour le salut de la chose publique*; et professant les principes de la plus parfaite égalité, n'ambitionnant d'autre privilége que celui de se présenter la premiére à la breche, elle s'empressera de se remettre au niveau de la commune la moins nombreuse de l'empire, dès qu'il n'y aura plus rien à redouter.

Prévenue que des hordes de barbares s'avancent contre elle, la commune de Paris se hâte d'informer ses freres de tous les départemens, qu'une partie des conspirateurs féroces, détenus dans les prisons, a été mise à mort par le peuple, *actes de justice qui lui ont paru indispensables* pour retenir par la terreur les legions de traîtres cachés dans ses murs, au moment où il alloit marcher à l'ennemi; *et sans doute la nation*, après la longue suite de trahisons qui l'a conduite sur les bords de l'abyme, *s'empressera d'adopter ce moyen si utile et si nécessaire*, et tous les François se diront, comme les Parisiens: Marchons à l'ennemi, *mais ne laissons par derriére nous ces brigands pour égorger nos femmes et nos enfans.*

(Signed) PIERRE DUPLAIN, JOURDEUILL,
PANIS, SERGENT, L'ENFANT,
MARAT L'AMI DU PEUPLE,
LE CLERC, DUFORTRE, &c. &c.

Administrators of the Committee of the Public Safety. *

* Brethren and friends, a horrid plot, planned by the court, to murder all the patriots of the French empire; a plot in which a great number of the national assembly were engaged, having, on the 9th of last month, forced the commune de Paris to the cruel necessity of making use of the power of the people to save the nation, the commune has neglected nothing for the service of the country.

After the approbation which the national assembly itself bestowed on the commune, could it have been imagined that new plots were projecting in silence, which broke forth at the moment when the national assembly, forgetting that she had declared that the commune de Paris had saved the country, hastened to dissolve that very community as a recompense for all its faithful services?

The moral of this virtuous epistle is evident—If you have any regard for your country, or any tenderness for your wives and children, you will cut the throats of all your prisoners as soon as you conveniently can.

What an infernal letter! and what renders it still more atrocious, is its being deliberately written by men in the character of magistrates.

It might naturally be expected that the reading of this invitation to murder should have filled the assembly with so much indignation, that a decree of accusation would have been immediately passed against Panis and the rest. It produced however only new clamours and confusion, with an outcry from one part of the hall for the order of the day. At last *Couthon* proposed that they should turn their attention from accusations against individuals to the more important exigencies of the state: this was supported by all those who dreaded any inquiry or investigation respecting the promoters of the massacres; and those who had been at first inclined to that measure being fatigued, or perhaps afraid to persist, the order of the day

Proud of possessing the full confidence of the nation, which we are resolved to deserve more and more; placed in the centre of all the conspiracies, and determined to perish in defence of the public, we cannot boast of having entirely fulfilled our duty till we shall obtain your approbation, which is the object of all our wishes, and of which we cannot be certain till all the departments have *sanctioned our measures for the public safety*. Professing principles of the most perfect equality, wishing no other privilege but that of presenting ourselves the first at the breach, we will put ourselves on a level with the smallest municipality in the nation as soon as the dangers which now threaten the country are past.

Informed that bands of barbarians are advancing, the commune de Paris hastens to acquaint all the departments, that part of those furious conspirators detained in the prisons of Paris have been put to death by the people; *an act of justice which seemed indispensable to strike terror into* the breasts of those legions of traitors hid within her walls, at the time when the citizens were about to march against the enemy. And no doubt the nation, after that long succession of treasons which have brought her to the brink of ruin, will hasten to adopt a measure so useful and necessary; and all the inhabitants of France will say, like the Parisians,—Let us march against the enemy, but let us not *leave behind us a band of villains to murder our wives and children.*

was agreed to—On which Marat, who remained in the tribune, pulled a pistol from his pocket, which having held to his head, he said,—'I now declare to you, citizens, that if the fury which has been displayed on this occasion had carried you the length of a decree of accusation against me, I should have blown my brains out before your faces.' What he meant by this I know not, unless it was to vex the assembly on being disappointed of so desirable an event.

Next to the disorderly conduct of some of the members themselves, nothing disgraces the national assembly so much as the insolence of the audience in the galleries. How could any court or any assembly of men support dignity, if they were exposed to be applauded or hooted according to the opinions or caprice of those admitted to hear their debates? There is, it is true, a decree against all noises and signs of approbation or disapprobation; but, notwithstanding its being broken every day, nobody has ever been punished on that account.

The majority of the convention have a great desire that a strict investigation should be made into the massacres, that the promoters of them may be punished in the most exemplary manner; and the same majority are equally solicitous to have an armed force at the command of the convention decreed and established. But I imagine they have thrown a great obstacle in the way of obtaining the last of these objects, by manifesting a design to pursue the first. They would have shewn more policy if they had said nothing of the one till they had secured the other. A considerable number of members of the convention itself are supposed to be conscious of being directly or indirectly involved in that horrid business: they see their own ruin in such an investigation, and therefore will oppose it by every means in their power. What means have they in their power, since a majority of the convention is for the measure? They cannot object to a law against assassination, and for the punish-

ment of murder; but knowing what use is immediately to be made of the armed force, they will raise objections to that being established; and till such a force is established, their friends in the suburbs will be able to protect the authors of the massacres. In short, the minority in the convention, at the head of which are Danton and Robespierre, already have an armed force at their command, in the active citizens of the suburbs; and will in all probability use every means (and they are not supposed to be so scrupulous as their rivals in the means they employ) to prevent any other armed force from being established.

The situation of the generals who command the armies of France at present is disagreeable in many respects: but particularly in their being under the controul, and exposed to the censure of men who are no judges of their military abilities, and extremely liable to prejudice and suspicion.—Nothing can be more detrimental to the interest of the state, than that those men who are risking their lives in the public service, and performing their duty with fidelity to their country, should be exposed to calumny, and surrounded with suspicion, the tendency of which must be to discourage their minds, cool their zeal, and disturb all their operations.

Tallien, a young man who was secretary to the municipality of Paris, and is now a member of the convention, made an attack lately, in that assembly, on General Montesquiou, who commands the army in Savoy.—He accused him of being tainted with aristocracy, and added, which was a pretty bold assertion for a man who was bred a clerk, that, *in his opinion*, the general was deficient in military abilities, and therefore he moved that he should be deprived of his command.

It is not to be imagined that much attention would have been paid to Tallien's judgment of the abilities of a general officer, had he not been a creature of Danton's, and supposed to act under his direction—His proposal, therefore, was supported by others, who were for passing

a decree that General Montesquiou had lost the confidence of the nation.

La Riviere observed, that as it might occasion disquietude to other generals, if one of their brethren was to be cashiered with so little ceremony, it might be reasonable to appoint a committee to examine a little into Montesquiou's conduct in the first place, and defer the punishment till it should appear that he deserved it.

This observation in favour of the general was made in such very guarded terms, that one would hardly think it could have given offence even to his bitterest enemy.—Billaud de Varennes, however, said in reply, that it was not surprising that the same person should defend Montesquiou, who had formerly defended the conduct of La Fayette. In the present circumstances, this insinuation might have been very hurtful to La Riviere; he therefore ascended the tribune with precipitation, and declared that he was one of the 224 members of the legislative assembly who had, on the 8th of August, voted against La Fayette; that what Billaud had said was false and calumnious, and required that he should be called to order, and censured as a calumniator by the president.

'Called to order! for what?' cried Danton. 'In the senate of Rome Brutus and Cato boldly spoke out those plain truths which we, from the pusillanimity of our manners, evade as personalities; for my part I am resolved to accuse, without circumlocution, every person whose conduct I think suspicious.'

Although it may be granted that Billaud and Daunton have as great a resemblance to Brutus and Cato, as the convention has to the Roman senate, yet still there is a difference between the bold truths of the latter, and the bold falsehoods of the former; the comparison therefore is not quite apposite.

Danton however insisted upon General Montesquiou's being deprived of his command, for which he urged two additional reasons; one, that when the public safety is in

danger, it is sufficient that a general is suspected: the other, added he, is, 'qu'il faut nous montrer terribles; c'est du caractere qu'il faut pour soutenir la liberté.' *

This is certainly the character that Danton has uniformly supported since the 10th of August, which tends to strengthen some suspicions of a terrible nature indeed, which are harboured against him.

The proposed decree was passed, that General Montesquiou should be deprived of his command.

What renders Montesquiou obnoxious to some leading members in the convention, does him honour in the eyes of impartial people,—he strenuously opposed the petitions for the dechéance of the king, and was for supporting him in the exercise of the veto which the constitution gave him. He was also accused by Bazire of having said at the extraordinary commission, that if they suspended the king's authority, they ran the risk of being abandoned by the army; it is also imagined that he wishes to behave with more mildness to the Genevois than is agreeable to certain people in power. But what will prove more injurious to Montesquiou than all these charges, is, that Danton is his enemy.

It must have been very mortifying to Danton, and the other enemies of this gentleman, when the news arrived a little after their decree, that he had already entered Savoy, and was proceeding with the most triumphant success.—He concludes his letter to the minister of war with the following words.—'Je vous rends grace, monsieur, de m'avoir procuré cette maniere de répondre à la calomnie; c'est ainsi que j'aimerai toujours à la repousser.' †

The friends of General Montesquiou seized this opportunity of moving that the decree against him should be recalled.

* That we may appear terrible; such is the character requisite for supporting the cause of liberty.

† I return you thanks, sir, for having put it in my power to make this kind answer to Calumny; I should wish to repel her attacks always in the same manner.

His enemies opposed this.

Manuel seconded the motion which was first made by Lacroix, adding, that he hoped they would recall this decree without loss of time, lest Montesquiou, by gaining a new victory, should put them still more in the wrong. Danton, perceiving the tide flowing in favour of Montesquiou, and being unable to turn it entirely against him, proposed that the assembly should extend the power of the commissioners that were sent to his army, by leaving it to their judgment to deprive the general of his command, or to continue him in it, as they might think expedient. Danton had before given a more extensive commission to an officer of Montesquiou's army, namely, to watch the conduct of the general, and, if he should make one retrograde movement, to shoot him through the head.

Gensonné, with much reason, shewed the impropriety of the assembly's allowing the execution of their decrees to depend on the judgment of any but themselves; and it was observed by Couthon, that the nation had given to the convention the right of making decrees, but not the power of delegating that right to others. On which Danton, pushing prejudice and want of candour as far as possible, exclaimed,—'They say that Montesquiou has gained a victory, but I beg leave to observe, that victories are not gained by a single man,—the victory was gained by the French army.'

This argument certainly does prove that Montesquiou has no better title to his victory in Savoy, than Hannibal had to that at Cannæ, or Cæsar to the victory at Pharsalia.

Danton persisted in his motion; although, he added, that it was impossible that an old courtier, like Montesquiou, seeing the success which attended the army of the republic in all quarters, might at last resolve to adhere to it.

It was decided, however, according to the proposal of Gensonné, that the execution of the last decree against Montesquiou should be suspended.

I know not whether the continued success which attends General Montesquiou will finally overcome the envy and malice of his enemies; but in a third letter, which came soon after the second, he announces the reduction of all Savoy, from the Lake of Geneva to Mount Cenis: the progress of his troops, he says, resembles a triumphant procession more than the march of an army; the inhabitants of towns and villages flock to him with congratulations, and the three-coloured ribband in their hats; and adds, that the minds of the people seem disposed to a revolution like that of France; and that the proposal had been already made of forming Savoy into an 84th department of France.

On transmitting Montesquiou's letter to the convention, Servan, the war minister, wrote to the president, that, as the expedition into Savoy had rendered that country free, it was worthy of the French republic to solemnize so happy an event, by ordering the hymn of the Marseillois to be performed in the Square of the Revolution, with the utmost magnificence, by vocal and instrumental music. He adds, 'que ce chant patriotique, expression fidelle des sentimens François, retentisse dans tout l'empire, que nos voisins l'entendent, et qu'il devienne à jamais l'espoir des peuples et la terreur des tyrans.' *

After General Kellermann had given the first check to the Prussians on the 20th of September, he wrote to Servan for liberty to celebrate a *Te Deum* in his camp, on account of that important affair.—'The song of the Marseillos,' replied the minister, 'is the *Te Deum* of the French republic; let it be performed by the music of your army, and sung by the soldiers.'

In both instances Servan's proposal was adopted.

To substitute a profane song in preference to a religious rite, it might be imagined, would give great offence:

* Let that patriotic song, the faithful expression of the sentiments of France, resound all over the nation; may it be heard by all the neighbouring countries; and may it become the hope of the people, and the terror of tyrants!

such a proposal from the parliament to their army in the time of the English republic, would have produced a mutiny, and have shocked the whole nation. It had no such effect in the present instance in France, where religious zeal is wonderfully extinguished; and an enthusiasm of another kind glows in its stead, the enthusiasm of liberty and equality, what they call civisme, in which an attachment to the republican government, and an abhorrence of monarchy, are included.

This is professed with as much ostentation and apparent zeal as ever the Roman Catholic religion was, in the most superstitious times; for, although the punishment with which a want of civisme is attended, is not so durable as that pronounced against the irreligious, it is more immediate; which, on the generality of mankind, has full as great an effect. Civisme, like religion, produces both enthusiasts and hypocrites: the enthusiasts detest and abominate a king and nobility, as much as their zealous forefathers, two centuries ago, abominated the devil and his angels; and they are as zealous persecutors of every deviation from the orthodox creed of civisme, as the religious enthusiasts of a former age were of heresy. The enthusiasts are chiefly among the poor; the hypocrites among the rich; many of whom are just such republicans in France as the Jews are Christians in Portugal.

Immediately after Montesquiou's letter had been read in the convention, Bancal, one of the deputies for the department du Puy de Dome, put the convention in mind, that the constituent assembly had by a solemn decree renounced every idea of conquest; and therefore he very wisely moved that the convention, faithful to that sacred principle, ought to reject the proposal of erecting Savoy into an 84th department of France, and should order it to be proclaimed all over Savoy, that France renounces conquest, and desires no extension of territory.

This motion, equally just and politic, was opposed: it was said, France has not given a temporary freedom to a country, that it may again fall under the yoke of its form-

er tyrant. She ought to agree to the generous wishes of the people she has freed, by accepting their union, and extending the empire of liberty as far as possible. 'All Europe,' said a member, 'will gradually join you, and all Europe will be like one family.—The people of every nation will be your friends, and you will have no enemies but kings;—you cannot surely refuse such a sublime idea.'

A flourish of this kind might be applauded in a disputing club, or might perhaps be admired in a visionary declaimer on politics; but it was hardly to be imagined that such sentiments would make any impression on an assembly of legislators, where practical knowledge and sober good sense presided. It was hardly to be expected that those fine words would not be construed by all Europe into an absolute renunciation of the decree against conquest, and really meant that the new republic intended, under a pretence of spreading liberty, to overturn every government, and subdue every nation around.

Jean Baptiste Louvet, notwithstanding the applause which was very liberally bestowed on the sentiments above mentioned, had the firmness and good sense to declare, that, without renouncing one of the wisest decrees of the constituent assembly, they could not interfere in the government of any other country: that they could not, without infringing the most sacred right of the people of Savoy, press upon them the constitution which France might assume for herself. How did they know that the constitution which was expedient for France, was also expedient for Savoy? and if expedient, how did they know that the Savoyards at the bottom of their hearts chose it?—'That which is essentially just,' Louvet continued, 'is for the most part sound policy. Let it be solemnly declared to all the people who shall be, I will not say subdued, but freed by your arms, that they may choose to themselves what form of government they please, that their laws shall be of their own making, that you not only wish to give them freedom, but freedom in the mode

which they themselves prefer.'—'I am convinced,' added he, 'that in Brabant, whither your armies intend to march, there exist strong prejudices against some of your laws, and your constitution in general; prejudices which it will require many years to eradicate, and which will render you more odious in their eyes than their present master, if you attempt to force your constitution upon them. It is as expedient, therefore, as equitable to declare the complete independence of every country into which you carry freedom.'

Danton, in answer to this, said, that they had assuredly the right to declare to every such country, that it should never more be governed by a king: that if the people were so absurd as to desire a government contrary to their interest, it should not be allowed: that the national convention of France should be *a committee of insurrection against all the kings in the universe.*

Nothing can be imagined more mad than this proposition, the tendency of which is to force all the monarchs in Europe, in self-defence, to make war on the republic; what private view Danton has in this, I do not know, but it evidently goes to the ruin of France.

The assembly, however, becoming impatient to close the discussion, ordered General Montesquiou's letter to be printed, and referred the proposition respecting Savoy to the consideration of the diplomatic and the war committees.

Notwithstanding the prudent conduct and brilliant success of Montesquiou, I am informed that there is no great probability of his being continued in his command. His enemies are of a disposition not to forgive him for having reduced Savoy at the very time that they were asserting he would never enter it, or to forget the injustice they have already done him. Beside these and the motives of dislike previously mentioned, they have another ground of hatred towards him, namely, his being a nobleman, and of a very ancient family. This appears equally unjust

and absurd:—unjust, because a man of noble birth, who from a love of general freedom has adhered to the revolution, has more merit than they can boast who had no such sacrifice to make—and it is absurd, because, instead of giving no importance to the accidental circumstance of birth, it is giving a great importance to it, which operates against the possessor. But if a man's nobility is not allowed, independent of personal merit, to be of service to him, neither ought it to be allowed, independent of demerit, to injure him.

Accounts are arrived that Dumourier, having left a sufficient force to harass the retreating army of Prussia, has quitted his own camp, and is soon expected in Paris.

October 11.

I was present this day for the first time at the conventional assembly, where a virulent attack was made on Dillon, one of the generals employed against the German army, and who, from the latest accounts, is now pressing upon their rear at Verdun.

As it elucidates what immediately follows, I shall here insert a short account of Dumourier's memorable campaign, from the time he was appointed to the command till he left the army, although I was not acquainted with all the particulars till sometime after this date.

General Arthur Dillon commanded the French army on the frontiers of Flanders, when he heard of the insurrection of the 10th of August.

Dumourier, being at that time subordinate to him, commanded in the camp of Maulde. From the accounts which Dillon received of that affair, he conceived it to be a rash insurrection, which would be disapproved of by the nation, and that it would soon end in the ruin of all concerned in it. He therefore gave out an order to the army on the 13th, in which he said, that the constitution had been violated by men who were the enemies of liberty; that he determined to remain faithful to the nation, to the

law, to the king, and to the constitution framed by the assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, to which they had all sworn.

He transmitted this order from Pont-sur-Sambre, where he was with his army, to the camp of Maulde, with a letter to General Dumourier, directing him to publish it there.

Dumourier had a different idea of the transactions of the 10th. He saw that the public opinion went in favour of the successful party; that it would be very difficult to wrest the government out of the hands which had seized it; that an attempt of that kind by the army would immediately produce a civil war, and expose the country to foreign invasion; and that he himself would remain subordinate to Luckner, La Fayette, and Dillon. Dumourier was nearer to Paris than Dillon, and had received earlier, and, as is supposed, more distinct information from his friend Gensonné, of the state of affairs. In his answer to Dillon's letter, he regretted that general's precipitancy, assured him that he would not publish the order in his camp, and advised Dillon to retract it without loss of time.

He sent at the same time an account of what he had done, and was disposed to do, to his friends at Paris; and when the three commissioners from the national assembly arrived, he not only took the oath of equality himself, but persuaded Dillon to do the same. That officer found no difficulty in explaining his conduct to the commissioners, assuring them, that it had proceeded from the misrepresentation which had been made to him of the affair of the 10th, but that he was zealous to serve the French nation, whatever form of government they should think proper to adopt.

The national assembly were so much pleased with this conduct of Dumourier, that they gave him the supreme command of the army formerly under M. de la Fayette, placing Dillon, who is an elder officer, under him. Having no pretext for putting Dumourier above Luckner, and

desirous at the same time that the former should be the efficient commander, they ordered Luckner to Chalons, to form an army there of the men who were marching from all parts to that place, where they were to be clothed, armed, and sent in detachments wherever the exigencies of the state required. Kellermann was, at Dumourier's recommendation, ordered to replace Luckner as commander of the army in Lorraine; Biron and Custine commanded the army on the Rhine, and Montesquiou that which was ordered against Savoy: all these officers took the oaths required by the assembly, and made the armies under their orders take them also.

Dumourier sent Dillon to command the army of the Ardennes, which comprehended all the troops placed in that part of the frontiers of France, between Rocroy and Montmedy. The two generals afterwards met at the town of Sedan, with a view to fix on future measures.

The enemy had already entered France, was in possession of Longwy, the first fortified town on the frontier next to the duchy of Luxembourg, and seemed at once to threaten Montmedy, Verdun, and Thionville.

The duke of Brunswick's army was above 50,000 strong: General Clairfait had joined him with 15,000 Austrians, beside a considerable body of Hessians and French emigrants, amounting in all to 90,000 men.

After leaving the frontier towns tolerably garrisoned, Dumourier had not above 17,000 men to act immediately against this immense force; and these 17,000 had been uselessly encamped between Sedan and Stenay, the Meuse being fordable in numberless places between Stenay and Verdun, where the enemy had no opposition.

On comparing the strength of the invading army with the weakness of that which was to oppose it, it was at one time imagined that all direct opposition would be vain, and that the most effectual measures would be, by a sudden irruption into Austrian Flanders, to endeavour to divert the enemy from advancing against Paris: but the small probability there was that such an expedition, how-

ever successfully conducted, would have the desired effect, soon made that scheme be laid aside; and Dumourier, inspired by an immense desire of renown, and trusting to the resources of his own genius, and the enthusiasm which animated his countrymen, resolved, by the defending of posts, and every other possible means, to attempt to check and retard the progress of the enemy, till he should be reinforced by the army of Kellermann from Lorraine, consisting of 20,000 men, by that which Bournonville was leading from Flanders, which amounted to 13,000, and what Luckner had sent to him of the new levies which were assembling at Chalons.

Small as Dumourier's force was, he had the courage, on the 29th of August, to detach from it two battalions of infantry, under the command of M. Galbaud, an excellent officer, who had orders to throw himself into Verdun, and assist in the defence of that town.

Dumourier gave the command of the advanced guard of his army to Dillon; it consisted of five battalions of infantry, with fourteen squadrons of light-horse. Dillon was ordered to march to Stenay, where Dumourier intended to join him on the 1st of September, and dispute the passage of the Meuse with the enemy.

Dillon, with a thousand horse, pushed on before the rest of his troops, to Stenay, and was making arrangements for the defence of the place, when the advanced guard of the Austrian army, four thousand strong, with several pieces of cannon, appeared. Convinced of the impossibility of defending the town without infantry, and without cannon, he evacuated Stenay, crossed the Meuse, and drew up his troops upon the opposite shore of that river, sending notice to his infantry, who were advancing, to return to the camp at Mouzon. When he himself retired to join them there, his rear was attacked by the Austrian cavalry, who were repulsed with considerable loss, and Dillon arrived in safety at Mouzon in the middle of the night.*

* Compte rendu au ministre de la Guerre, par le Lieut. General A. Dillon.

Dumourier advanced with his small army to Mouzon on the 1st of September, and then marched on to Beaumont en Argonne, where Dillon had previously traced out a camp.

Finding that it was now too late to dispute the passage of the Meuse, Dumourier determined to make himself master of the various straits in the forest of Argonne. This forest extends from the Chene le Populeux to Passavent, a space of about forty miles; the German army, in marching to Paris, was under the necessity of going by some of these straits, or making a considerable circuit by bad roads, and turning the forest. Dumourier detached Dillon with six thousand men, to seize upon the very important pass of Biesme, near the Grandes Islettes, in the forest of Argonne. It is about seven or eight miles from Verdun, on the direct road from that city to Paris by Chalons. He had at this time heard nothing from Galbaud, and had no doubt of Verdun's holding out a much longer time than would be necessary for Dillon to perform this service. But Verdun surrendered by capitulation on the 2d of September, without having made any resistance; and Dillon would in all probability have arrived too late, had it not been for the sagacity of M. Galbaud. When that officer came near to Verdun, he found it so completely invested by the Prussians, that it was impossible to execute the orders of Dumourier. He considered, in the next place, how he could employ the two battalions under his command most effectually for the public service; and, anticipating the intentions of his commander, he marched them to Biesme, and immediately sent a messenger to Dumourier, to inform him of what he had done, and to demand a reinforcement. The army at Verdun, in advancing to Paris, were now under the necessity of forcing this post, or making a circuit of forty miles, by Varennes and Grand Pré on the north, or one still larger by Bar-le-duc on the south. Dumourier thought the former the most probable, for he posted himself with the body of his army at Grand Pré. This is also a pass in the forest of Argonne, requiring however a much greater force to de-

fend it than that of Biesme; to which Dillon marched with redoubled efforts, in the dread that Galbaud, who he had heard was in possession of it, should be forced before he arrived.*

While Dumourier remained at Grand Pré, he detached General Miranda with a body of two thousand cavalry, to protect a convoy he expected, and also to reconnoitre the Prussian army, whose movements at this time seemed equivocal. Miranda performed this service with ability and success; an advanced guard of Prussians, consisting of four thousand, were posted in such a manner that they must have intercepted the convoy.—He attacked and defeated them, and the convoy arrived in safety at Dumourier's camp.†

The march of Dillon from Mouzon to Biesme, through a forest exceedingly difficult to traverse, and so near to a superior army, required military skill in the commander, and steadiness in the troops, especially as they were assured by the municipal officers of a village through which they passed, that Galbaud, discouraged by the terror spread among his troops by those who came from Verdun, had quitted Biesme, and fallen back towards Chalons, and that the town of Sainte-Menehould was in the possession of the enemy. Dillon, however, having sent couriers to all quarters to ascertain those facts, soon discovered that they were not true, and on the afternoon of the 5th of September effected his junction with Galbaud.

The troops were immediately employed in fortifying, by all the resources of art, the natural strength of this post, which was done so effectually that, when the king of Prussia in person, with the duke of Brunswick, reconnoitred the place from the heights near Clermont, they thought it too strong to be forced.

Some people have ventured to censure the duke of Bruns-

* Compte rendu au Ministre de le Guerre, par le Lieut. General A. Dillon.

† Rapport des Commissaires de la Convention aux Armées réunies.

wick for neglecting to attack this post of Biesme before Galbaud was reinforced by Dillon, or for not ordering Dillon to be opposed in his march from Mouzon to it.

It belongs to military men only, and such as are acquainted intimately with the situation of the country, and the circumstances in which the German army was at that time, to decide on this point; but any one may naturally conclude, that a general of so high a reputation as the duke of Brunswick must have had sufficient reasons for acting as he did.

M. Gobert, adjutant general of Dumourier's army, and probably better qualified to judge of the conduct of the duke of Brunswick than most who have censured, it observes, that Galbaud was in possession of the pass on the 31st of August, that the garrison of Verdun had joined him on the 2d of September, and that the duke of Brunswick might naturally believe that many peasants from the neighbouring villages would immediately resort to Galbaud, and assist in defending the pass, this being a kind of service in which new troops might be as useful as veterans.

Whatever were the duke's reasons for waving the attack of this post, the possession of it enabled Dillon to afford protection to a number of villages situated on the river Aire, and put the Prussians to the necessity of long and most fatiguing marches, by Grand-Pré to the camp of La Lune near St. Menehould, instead of going directly through Biesme.

Dumourier was in possession of the defiles of Grand-Pré for some time before he was disturbed, and at last became persuaded that the duke of Brunswick meant to avoid the forest of Argonne altogether, and march to Chalons by Bar-le-duc. Under this conviction he wrote to Dillon that he was preparing with a strong advanced guard to harass the rear of the enemy's army, who, he understood, were endeavouring to pass by Dillon's right to Chalons. He directs him to leave 2000 men to

guard the pass; and then to assemble all the troops, and order them to St. Menehould, where he would endeavour to join him, and, with their united force, afterwards form a junction with Kellermann. He concludes his letter in these words.—

'Faites rassembler, par le tocsin, tous les paysans pour aller border les abattis: portezvous tout-a-fait à votre droite, et dirigez-y tout ce qui se rassemble à St. Menehould. Après notre jonction, nous nous arrangerons ensemble pour couvrir cette place et pour suivre le mouvement sur Chalons. Faites sonner le tocsin sur toute votre route, j'en feria autant, et cela déconcertera un peu la marche des Prussiens. Je commencerai mon mouvement à minuit. *

(Signed) DUMOURIER,
Le Général en Chef de l'Armée du Nord.'

It is probable that the duke of Brunswick had made some movements which indicated an intention of marching by Bar-le-duc to Chalons; or had otherwise contrived to spread this impression on purpose to conceal his real design, which was to force the defiles of Grand Pré.

Kellermann and Luckner were both deceived in this point. The former was so much convinced that the duke's movement was a feint, that he had thoughts of marching from Sainte Dizier, where he then was, to Chalons, so as to arrive before the enemy.

Luckner had sent reinforcements to the army of Kellermann where they were not needed, instead of sending

* Assemble all the peasants by the alarm bell, that they may line the abatis.† Direct your march to the right, and order all the troops who shall assemble at St. Menehould to move in the same direction. After our junction we will fix upon measures for covering that place, and attending the march of the enemy to Chalons. Order the alarm bells to be rung during your march, I will do the same; this will somewhat disconcert the march of the enemy. I will begin my march at midnight.

(Signed) DUMOURIER.

† An abatis is formed by trees cut down and arranged with their branches towards the enemy, so as to form a kind of fortification.

them to Dumourier at Grand-Pré, by a short route which Dillon had indicated.

Dumourier was soon convinced of his mistake, and wrote the following letter to Dillon.—

Grand-Pré, le 12 Sept. l'an 4me de la Liberté.

Les ennemis vous ont abandonné, mon cher général, pour se porter sur moi ; ils me font une attaque dans le moment ; je ne sais pas encore si c'est la véritable ; je crois que ce n'est qu'une feinte pour attaquer la Trouée du Chêne-le-Populeux,* où je porte du renfort. Envoyez moi du secours, sans cependant dégarnir la Trouée de Clermont. Je vous embrasse.

Le Général en Chef de l'Armée du Nord.

(Signé) DUMOURIER. †

On the following day Dillon received another letter from Dumourier, who, being assured that the enemy intended a second attack with more force than that of the day before, and having received no succours from Chalons, gave a positive order to Dillon to send him directly all the troops he could possibly spare without endangering his own position. Dillon accordingly sent him about 3000, the fourth of which was cavalry ; and this was the only reinforcement which Dumourier received before he was obliged to quit Grand-Pré : but small as this aid may be thought, it was as much as Dillon could in prudence send, because the body of Prussians which had marched under the duke of Brunswick to Grand-Pré had been immediately replaced

* This is a post on the north end of the forest of Argonne, which Dumourier meant to defend. By the Trouée de Clermont he means the Straits of Biesme.

† The enemy have left you, my dear general, to come against me : they begin an attack at this moment. I am not quite convinced that they are in earnest ; I rather suspect that this is a feint to divert my attention from the passage of Chêne-le-Populeux, where they mean a real attack, and whither I am actually sending reinforcements. Send me succour, without however too much weakening the Strait of Clermont.

Compte Rendu par le Lt. Gen. A. Dillon.

by 15,000 Austrians and Hessians, who were afterwards reinforced to the number of 20,000, by whom he expected to be attacked every day.

It is probable that Dillon had emissaries near the person of the duke of Brunswick, who gave him notice of what passed, for his information is in general just; and in a letter to Kellermann, dated the 13th of September, he informs him that Dumourier had been attacked the day before, and that the attack had been renewed the morning of the 13th, without success; and he adds,—'Je sais qu'hier le duc de Brunswick furieux a dit au roi de Prusse—Je perdrai bien du monde, mais j'y passerai.' *

The duke of Brunswick was as good as his word—On the 14th of September the attack of the Prussians was irresistible. During the time that Dumourier was himself attacked, he was informed that a post called La Croix aux Bois, which General Chazot defended, was forced. Dumourier therefore was obliged entirely to abandon the passes of Grand-Pré, and to direct his march to Sainte-Menehould, where he had previously traced a camp in a very strong position.—On his march, his army was so violently pressed by the advanced cavalry of the Prussians, that it was thrown into confusion, and part fled in a shameful manner, quite to the town of St. Menehould, which they entered, crying, 'All is lost!' and spreading dismay on all sides. Dumourier, in the account which he sent to the convention, seems to think that if the Prussians had pushed on with vigour during this panic, his army might have been dispersed.

Dillon happened to be at St. Menehould when the fugitives arrived—he did every thing in his power to prevent the terror from spreading—he sent detachments of horse to the neighbouring villages to stop those who fled, and prevent the alarm reaching Chalons, where it might have had the worst effect on the new levies assembling under Luckner.

* I know that the duke of Brunswick said to the king of Prussia yesterday in a violent passion—I shall lose a great many men, but I am resolved to pass.

By Dillon's exertions, and the animating presence of Dumourier, the army regained order, spirit, and confidence in their officers.

Those who had distinguished themselves in this shameful manner were sent in disgrace from the army, which on the morning of the 15th entered the camp at St. Menehould, and began with all diligence to fortify it, in the persuasion that it would very soon be attacked. Bournonville, at the head of a body of 13,000 men, joined Dumourier on the 17th. The duke of Brunswick knew that Kellermann was near at hand with a greater force, and formed the plan of attacking him before he could join Dumourier. Kellermann, by forced marches, gained the heights of Valmy on the evening of the 19th. Valmy is within less than a mile of other heights, on which was the strong camp of Dumourier. Kellermann received intelligence of the march of the Prussians during the night, which convinced him that he would be attacked the following morning. He made his dispositions accordingly, and used every possible means of encouraging his soldiers. He walked through the lines with some of the most popular officers, to animate them by their discourse. The army answered them by huzzas, and the cry of Vive la nation! Kellermann's army extended from a village called Dammartin la Planchette, along the heights of Valmy. A free communication was kept up between his army and that of Dumourier, who sent 8000 men to his assistance during the cannonade, which lasted the whole day. The Prussians manœuvred with their usual coolness and address, sometimes forming into columns, as if their intention had been to attack with the bayonet, and sometimes moving with an intention to surround Kellermann, and cut off his communication with Dumourier. The firmness of the French, under the skilful direction of their generals, prevented the Prussians from accomplishing either. Dumourier was in person at the batteries during several hours of the cannonade, and at the head of his own troops to oppose the Prussians when they attempted to surround Kellermann. The superior address of the French can-

noneers was apparent during the whole action; and the army in general shewed a degree of steadiness which disciplined troops alone have been supposed to possess, and rivalled the Prussians in steadiness and obedience to their officers, while their natural vivacity appeared in songs and cries of Vive la nation! amidst the carnage of the cannonade. In Kellermann's army there were above four hundred killed, and between five and six hundred wounded. The general himself narrowly escaped, his horse being killed under him. It is said, and it is most probable, that the loss of the Prussians was considerably greater. What military men peculiarly admire in the conduct of Kellermann, was the skill he displayed that evening in changing his position in the presence of the enemy, to one still more advantageous; by which his right wing touched the army of Dumourier, his left was protected by heights easily defended, while in his front was a rivulet greatly swelled by the recent rains.* That he was not attacked during this manœuvre is not only a proof of the ability with which it was performed, but also forms a strong presumption of the great loss which the Prussians had sustained, and of their being discouraged by this unsuccessful attack.

At the same time that the attack was made on the army of Kellermann, the 20,000 men which had been left at Clermont made an attempt on Dillon's camp at Biesme. The duke of Brunswick had been under the necessity of leaving this strong party behind, otherwise Dillon would have intercepted all his convoys; so that Dillon, with about five or six thousand men, had detained 20,000 from the Prussian army when it marched against Dumourier and Kellermann. Those 20,000 now marched to the attack of Biesme; they were so confident of their own success, and that Dumourier would be routed by the Prussians, that they made their whole equipage and baggage of every kind follow them, in the expectation that

* Observations sur la Campagne de 1792, par Gobert, Adjutant Général.

after they had forced the post of Biesme, they would be ordered to join the Prussians and accompany them to Paris. Dillon's defence, however, was attended with the same success as Kellermann's,—the Austrians and Hessians were repulsed, and obliged to retire in great disorder.

After these unsuccessful attacks, the duke of Brunswick encamped his army at La Lune, near the army of Dumourier, and between St. Menehould and Chalons. Here the Prussians, who had already suffered by sickness, were greatly distressed from the want of provisions. Bournonville, detached with a body of 4000 men by Dumourier, had intercepted several convoys that were advancing from their magazines at Grand-Pré. He intercepted in particular several droves of cattle going to the Prussians, and ordered them to be slaughtered for the use of his own army: for this last exploit, joined to his courage and strength, he was called the French Ajax. Nothing could bribe the French peasants to carry any kind of necessaries to the Germans, while they flocked with supplies to the camp of Dumourier. It also was difficult and most expensive for the duke of Brunswick, or any officer who commanded his detached parties, to procure intelligence, as they were surrounded with spies who informed Dumourier of all their movements. As the Prussians could procure no provisions but from their own magazines, the scarcity was increased by the excessive rains which fell at this time, and rendered the roads uncommonly deep, and in some places almost impassable: in the meantime, the Prussians were more exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and suffered more from cold, moisture, and want of provisions, than the French, who were protected in some degree from those evils by the care and attention of their countrymen. To these distresses were added the vexation and discouragement which the Prussians must have felt at finding the whole country united against them, instead of a great proportion being disposed to join them, as they had been made to expect.

There are professions in which men sometimes acquire great reputation with little merit: this may happen either from the public being no judges of the merit of those particular professions, or because success in the profession may arise from the merit of others who direct the measures of the individual who acquires the reputation.

This is often the case in the military profession, at the top of which men are placed from the circumstances of birth, independent of all idea of merit, and frequently in spite of the most glaring proofs of incapacity. In this profession, likewise, men have acquired fame from successes that have been entirely owing to the superior valour of their troops, and the superior skill of some subordinate officer.

But if the commanders of armies may on some occasions acquire fame without deserving it, no set of men are more exposed to censure on account of sinister events, which no sagacity could foresee, and no human power could prevent.

Few men have experienced this more than the duke of Brunswick, who has been blamed for not marching directly to Chalons, or Rheims, as soon as he found himself between those cities and Dumourier's army. Those who make this criticism do not think of the danger and difficulty of marching with an enemy hanging on the rear, and intercepting the convoys of the advancing army.

But without taking farther notice of such random censures, it is the opinion of many of the military profession, that instead of remaining inactive at his camp at La Lune after the cannonade of the 20th of September, he ought to have attacked Dumourier at St. Menehould. Those who hold this opinion say, that from the superiority of the Prussians over the raw troops of France, he had a great probability of beating and dispersing them, which would have spread such an alarm that the levies which were marching against the duke would have joined in the flight; and instead of enemies, he would have met only friends on his way to Paris; for nothing is so efficacious as a victory, in converting enemies into friends,

I have been assured, that this measure was proposed by the marechal de Castries, in a council of war held at La Lune; and his opinion was supported by that of M. de Poilly, a general officer in the French army, who had resided in that province, and had an accurate knowledge of the country; and that this attack of the camp of Menehould was also greatly desired by the whole corps of French emigrants.

Without any pretensions to military knowledge, it is not difficult to conjecture what may have determined the duke of Brunswick against risking such a measure.

He certainly had entered France with a persuasion that he would be favoured by a great part of the country who disliked the constitution; he had reason to believe that the events of the 10th of August, and the 3d of September, would render the people more averse from the new government, and more favourable to his expedition. The easy conquest of Longwy and Verdun tended to confirm him in those sentiments. He found no very great difficulty in forcing the straits of Grand-Pré.

Thus far therefore every thing rather had a tendency to encourage the duke to proceed; but the action of the 20th of September, and the disposition in which he found the country, must have had a very different effect on his mind. By the former he had the proofs of a firmness in the French army, and a skill in the general which he did not expect: and in the country, so far from any favourable disposition towards his enterprise, every appearance was hostile in the highest degree. At his camp at La Lune his convoys were sometimes intercepted; he could obtain no provisions from the inhabitants, and his army was suffering under the complicated distress of want and a dangerous epidemic; it is said there were near 10,000 sick in his camp, and at Grand-Pré. In such circumstances, an attack on Dumourier's army, now 70,000 strong, and whose strength he had already experienced, was not very promising of success; and, if unsuccessful, would have been attended with the entire ruin of his own,

But even upon the supposition that he had been victorious, the remains of the French army after a defeat, with the troops at Chalons, Rheims, Soissons, and in every part of the country, would have rendered the retreat of his army, diminished by victory and enfeebled by sickness, very dangerous if he had marched much farther into France.

As soon as it was evident that the country was against him, the duke of Brunswick's enterprise might have been considered as having failed. He had nothing to think of but to effect a retreat, which he finally conducted with a skill equal to the highest reputation.

But he first proposed a truce; during this a conference took place between the chiefs of the opposite armies. It has been said, that Dumourier agreed to this with a view to promote desertion among the German soldiers, by distributing the decree of the national assembly for the encouragement of deserters, and also in the hopes of inducing the king of Prussia to break with the Austrians, at this moment of indignation and disappointment; and it has been asserted that Dumourier proved himself a much better politician than the duke of Brunswick on this occasion. The reverse of this however seems to be the truth; for if what is mentioned above were really Dumourier's objects in agreeing to the truce, he failed in both. There was *no* desertion from the Prussian army, and the king did *not* break with the emperor; but it was of infinite importance to the duke of Brunswick, who had already determined on a retreat, to have a few days of truce, which he employed in conveying his artillery and heavy baggage undisturbed from the camp of La Lune to Grand-Pré.

Nothing can be more uncandid and inconsistent than the manner in which the duke of Brunswick's conduct has been criticised—It is asserted in the first place, that he inconsiderately led his army into a situation so desperate, that, if they advanced, they must be all either killed or taken prisoners; if they retreated, one-half must

be cut in pieces; and if they remained where they were, they must be starved.—Taking this account to be the true state of the case, one would imagine that he should be allowed some credit for having extricated his army from so perilous a situation—instead of which, we are told, that even in this he shewed less address than the enemy, from whom he delivered them.

In confirmation however of my own opinion on this subject, I shall only add, that it was the duke of Brunswick who first proposed the truce, and not Dumourier—that during the whole time it continued, his artillery and baggage were moving to Grand-Pré, and that as soon as he knew they were safe there, he renewed his original manifesto, which he must have known would put an end to the truce. All those circumstances render it probable that, however acute and able Dumourier may be, the truce was more advantageous to the duke of Brunswick than to him.

On the 30th of September the duke raised his camp at La Lune, and retreated with his whole army by Grand-Pré to Busancy. The Austrians under the command of General Clairfait separated from the Prussians, and passed the Meuse at Stenay, and took the nearest way to the county of Luxembourg; while the Prussians passed at Dun, and pursued the course of the river to Verdun. Their march was slow, on account of the number of their sick, as well as of the badness of the roads; but in such order, that although pursued by numerous detachments of French, no considerable advantage was gained over them during this whole march.

When Dumourier saw the enemy in full retreat, and that they could attempt nothing of importance in that quarter this season, he determined to go to Paris. He wished to settle with the executive power a plan of operations for an immediate expedition into Austrian Flanders, whither he has ordered a great part of his army, and where he expects to gather fresh laurels. What gives a high idea of Dumourier's vigour of mind is, that in ad-

hering to the plan of operations which he had traced out for the defence of France, he resisted the injunctions which he frequently received from the administration at Paris—and took the whole responsibility upon himself. At Paris there was so great an alarm, on hearing that some German irregulars had been near Rheims, that they wished him to fall back. And Servan, the war minister, has the following expressions in a letter to Dumourier, dated the 27th of September.—

'J'espere toujours, mon cher général, que vous resterez convaincu, ainsi que nous, que vous n'avez plus un moment à perdre pour vous rapprocher de la Marne, afin de couvrir par la Chalons, Rheims, et les superbes campagnes du Soissonnois et de la Brie: que nous importe actuellement que l'ennemi occupe les plaines arides de la Champagne?'—And he ends the same letter with these words.—'Personne ne nous voit tranquillement à Sainte Menehould tandis que les Houlans viennent insulter les fauxbourgs de Rheims.' *

When we reflect on the character of the people Dumourier was accountable to for his conduct, and how little they are disposed to forgive what they consider as reprehensible, we must the more admire his steadiness. It is now generally said, that if he had fallen back to Chalons and Rheims, the enemy might have got possession of a plentiful country, and perhaps wintered in France.

He left Bournonville to harass the Prussians during their retreat. That general followed them as far as Busancy; and then being ordered to the army intended against Flanders, he was replaced by the generals Kellermann and Valence, who, with all their zeal and activity,

* I hope, my dear general, that you are as much convinced as we, that you ought, without a moment's delay, to move towards the department of La Marne, on purpose to protect Chalons, Rheims, and the fertile fields of the Soissonnois and La Brie. Of what importance is it to us that the enemy are in possession of the barren plains of Champaigne?

We cannot with patience think of your remaining at St. Menehould, while the Hulans are insulting the suburbs of Rheims.

were not able to gain any advantage over this retreating and sickly army.

Dillon, on his part, followed that body of Austrians and Hessians who had attacked his post at Biesme, and were now retreating by another route towards Verdun.

He had about 16,000 men with him, and the army he pursued was more numerous, and consisted of well disciplined troops. Having heard that the Austrians and Hessians were irritated against each other, and having been informed that the Landgrave himself had spoken with anger against the conduct of the Austrians, he wrote a letter from Domballe to that prince, which he sent by M. Gobert his adjutant-general, at the same time that he dismissed M. Lindau, an Hessian officer, who had been taken prisoner. In this letter, after some general reflections respecting the right of nations to change their governments, which it is not probable the Landgrave will think conclusive, Dillon assures him that he is surrounded in such a manner that it will be very difficult for him to escape; but that if he will set out the following morning for his own country, and entirely evacuate the French territories with his troops, he will be allowed to pass undisturbed by certain posts which were at that time occupied by the French.

Dillon saw, that it was not in his power with 16,000 men to prevent the retreat of 20,000; but he thought, if he could persuade the Hessians to separate from the Austrians, he might cut off the latter.—It was not very likely indeed that the Landgrave would be so far deceived as to accept of Dillon's offer; but whatever may be thought of the depth of the stratagem, it is evident that Dillon meant to serve, not to injure France; for he shewed the letter to General Galbaud before he sent it, and he also gave a copy of it, with the Landgrave's answer, to Sillery, Carra, and Prieur, the commissioners of the national convention.*

* Rapport des Commissaries de la Convention.

But what puts Dillon's intention out of all question is, that on the 4th of October he intercepted a letter from the director of the district of Etain, to the Landgrave of Hesse, dated the 1st of October, by which it appeared that the Landgrave was expected to take his head-quarters at Etain; on which Dillon sent a courier from his camp at Sivry-la-Parche to General Favart at Metz, to inform him, that he intended to attack the enemy on their retreat, and that they were to retreat by Etain; to prove which he transmitted the intercepted letter to Favart, and desired him to send a detachment from the garrison of Metz to co-operate in harassing them.

He adds,—'Faites avertir tous les villages, que tous les citoyens reprennent de la confiance, que l'on sonne le tocsin par-tout, toutes les armes seront bonnes pour harceler l'ennemi, et tomber dans chaque defilé sur ses equipages. Faites proclamer que tous ceux qui lui fourniront une livre de pain, sont traites à leur pays. Je les poursuivrai sans rélache s'ils se retirent; je les combattrai s'ils restent,' &c.*

General Dillon's letter to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Landgrave's answer, were transmitted to the convention without any commentary. They were read in the assembly; and, instead of appearing meritorious or innocent, they had the most malignant and most unnatural construction put on them by some of the members. Merlin of Thionville exclaimed, that this letter was a complete proof of Dillon's being a traitor.—This Merlin is a most zealous accuser; he seems to think that by murdering the reputation of others, he shall accumulate a vast stock of fame to himself, as the Indian imagines that he becomes the immediate possessor of all the courage and

* Let this be proclaimed in all the villages, that the citizens may recover their spirits; let the alarm be sounded every where: all sorts of arms will serve to harass the enemy, and to assist in attacking their carriages in every defile. Let it be proclaimed, that all who furnish them with a single pound of bread will be considered as traitors to their country. I will pursue them without relaxation if they fly—I am determined to fight them if they remain,' &c.

dexterity of the enemy he kills. Merlin, not satisfied with the interpretation he had given to this letter to the Landgrave, reverted to Dillon's proclamation at Pont-sur-Sambre, and other parts of his conduct previous to the 10th of August; on all which he put the most malignant construction, and finished by proposing a decree of accusation against him.

'One general officer,' said Kersaint, 'has already answered your decree of accusation by a victory—How do you know that Dillon was not obeying the orders of Dumourier when he wrote the letter in question?'

Couthon, in answer to Kersaint, declared that no decree of accusation could be better founded than that now proposed against Arthur Dillon—He said, he would not take into consideration any thing laid to his charge before his letter to the Landgrave, but in the same breath he recapitulated whatever was most likely to injure him in the mind of the convention respecting his conduct long before that time, and immediately after the 10th of August.

Couthon labours under a disease which renders him unable to walk, or even to stand: and which seems to have communicated its malignity to his disposition. He is always brought in the arms of his servant from his carriage into the assembly, and is indulged in the liberty of speaking without rising from his seat.—He has the reputation of being a man of acute parts; there is a mildness in his countenance that is not found in his opinions, which are generally violent and severe. His speech rendered the enemies of Dillon more furious.—One member said that he seemed inclined to make no other use of the army committed to his charge but as a safeguard to conduct the enemies of France out of the country; another observed, that it was highly expedient that the convention should charge the executive power to take particular care that Dillon did not make his escape. And a third ascended the tribune, and made a motion which terminated the climax of intemperance and injustice.—He proposed that the three commissioners should be immediately

arrested as traitors for not having suspended Dillon from his command, the moment he shewed them a copy of the letter he had written to the Landgrave. Nothing could be more uncandid and captious than the spirit shewn by those men on this occasion; they must have known that Dillon had pursued the Hessians and Austrians with indefatigable activity to Verdun, and that it was in consequence of the batteries which he lost no time in erecting against that town, that it soon after surrendered; but they could not forget Dillon's conduct on his first receiving the accounts of the proceedings at Paris on the 10th of August. Prudence and good policy indicate a different conduct; the best way surely to conciliate men to a revolution, is to present them with greater advantages under the new government than they enjoyed under the old.—But these furious reformers, whilst they declaim against the tyranny of the ancient government, present nothing in support of the new, but accusations, poniards, and guillotines. With much difficulty, instead of an immediate accusation, they at last came to a resolution, that the executive council should to-morrow state to the assembly all the circumstances relative to General Dillon's conduct to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, before they made any decree respecting him.

October 13.

I went this morning to the conventional assembly, and was admitted into the box where, on the 11th of August, I had seen the unfortunate family, now prisoners in the Temple, seated.

The hall and galleries were uncommonly crowded, because Dumourier, who arrived in Paris last night, was expected to come to the assembly this day.

The forenoon was spent in debates, in which Buzot, Vergniaud, and some other of the most distinguished members of the convention took part. About one o'clock I saw one of the huissiers go to the president, and I

heard him acquaint him, that Dumourier attended in the adjoining room.

The president, however, did not interrupt the debate, which continued for at least an hour after this information was given. It was known to some in the assembly, that Dumourier was waiting to be called in; several members, thinking the president was ignorant of that circumstance, went up and whispered him,—he signified by a nod that he already knew it, and allowed the debate to continue.

It struck me as singular, that a general, who in such critical circumstances had rendered the most important services to his country, and was just returned victorious, should be treated with such coolness.—I have no doubt it was done on purpose, and in the republican spirit, intended as a hint to the general not to overvalue his importance.

At last, however, the president read a letter from General Dumourier, in which he informs the convention, that he desires to pay his duty to them, and waits their orders. A member moved that he should be admitted directly; and the general, attended by several officers, appeared at the bar, amidst the applause of the assembly and the acclamations of the galleries.—He is considerably below the middle size, of a sharp and intelligent countenance, and seems rather above fifty years of age. He pronounced the following discourse, throwing his eyes occasionally on a paper which he held in his hand.—

'Citoyens Legislateurs—La liberté triomphe par tout: guidée par la philosophie, elle parcourra l'univers, et s'asseoira sur tous les trônes, après avoir écrasé le despotisme, après avoir éclairé les peuples. Les loix constitutionelles, auxquelles vous allez travailler, seront la base du bonheur et de la fraternité des nations. Cette guerre-ci sera la derniére; et les tyrans et les privilégiés, trompés dans leurs criminels calculs, seront les seules victimes de cette lutte du pouvoir arbitraire contre la raison.

' L'armée, dont la confiance de la nation m'avoit donné la conduite, a bien merité de la patrie : réduite, lorsque je l'ai jointe le 28 Août, à 17,000 hommes, désorganisée par des traitres que le châtiment et la honte poursuivent par tout, elle n'ai été effrayée ni du nombre, ni de la discipline, ni des menaces, ni de la barbarie, ni des premiers succès de 80,000 satellites du despotisme. Les defilés de la forêt d'Argonne ont été les Thermopyles, où cette poignée de soldats de la liberté a presenté, pendant quinze jours, à cette formidable armée une resistance imposante. Plus heureux que les Spartiates, nous avons été secourus par deux armées animées du même esprit que nous. Nous nous sommes rejoints dans le camp inexpugnable de Sainte Menehould. Les ennemis, au désespoir, ont voulu tenter une attaque, qui ajoute une victoire à la carrière militaire de mon collégue, et mon ami, Kellermann.

' Dans le camp de Sainte Menehould, les soldats de la liberté ont deployé d'autres vertus militaires, sans lesquelles le courage même peut être nuisible : la confiance en leurs chefs, l'obeissance, la patience et la persévérance. Cette partie de l'empire Français presente un sol aride, sans eau et sans bois, les Allemands s'en souviendront : leur sang impur fécondera, peut-être, cette terre ingrate qui en est abreuvée. La saison étoit très pluvieuse et très froide : nos soldats étoient mal habillés, sans paille pour se coucher, sans couvertures, quelquefois deux jours sans pain, parceque la position de l'ennemi obligeoit les convois à de longs détours, par des chemins de traverse très *mauvais* en tout tems, et *gâtés* par des pluies continuelles ; car je dois rendre justice aux regisseurs des vivres et des fourages, qui, malgré tous les obstacles des mauvais chemins, de la saison pluvieuse, des mouvemens imprévus, ou que j'etois obligé de cacher, ont entretenu l'abondance autant qu'il leur a été possible ; et je suis bien aise de publier que c'est à leurs soins qu'on doit la bonne santé des soldats. Jamais je ne les ai vus murmurer. Les chants et la joie auroient fait prendre ce

camp terrible pour un de ces camps de plaisance, ou le luxe des rois rassembloit autrefois des automates enrégimentés pour l'amusement de leurs maitresses ou de leurs enfans.

'L'espoir de vaincre soutenoit les soldats de la liberté; leurs fatigues, leurs privations, ont été récompensées: l'ennemi a succombe sous la faim, la misére et les maladies; cette armée formidable fut diminuée de moitié; les cadavres et les chevaux morts jalonnent la route; Kellermann les poursuit avec plus de 40,000 hommes, pendant qu'avec un pareil nombre je marche au secours du départément du Nord, et des malheureux et estimables Belges et Liégeois.

'Je ne suis venu passer quatre jours ici que pour arranger avec le conseil les details decette campagne d'hiver. J'en profite pour vous presenter mes hommages. Je ne vous ferai point de nouveaux sermens; je me montrerai digne de commander aux enfans de la liberté, et de sountenir les loix que le peuple souverain va se faire à lui même par votre organe.' *

* Citizen Legislators—Liberty is every where triumphant; directed by philosophy, she will pervade the world, she will crush despotism, open the eyes of mankind, and seat herself on the throne of the universe. Those constitutional laws which you are about to frame will serve as a basis for the union and happiness of nations. The present war will be the last of wars, and the tyrants of the world, deceived in their criminal calculations, will be the sole victims of this contention between arbitrary power and reason.

The army intrusted to my command by the public confidence have deserved well of their country: reduced, when I joined it, to 17,000, and weakened by the machinations of shameless traitors, who I hope will one day meet the punishment they deserve, it was never intimidated by the numbers, the threats, the barbarity, or even by the first success of 80,000 slaves of depotism. The straits of the forest of Argonne was the Thermopylæ in which that handful of the soldiers of liberty, for fifteen successive days, presented a resistance which kept that formidable army in awe. More fortunate than the Spartans, we were succoured by two armies animated by the same spirit with ourselves; they joined us at the impregnable camp of Saint Menehould. The enemy, prompted by despair, hazarded an attack, which adds a victory to the military career of my friend and colleague Kellermann.

At

The loud applause of all the deputies and spectators was renewed several times after Dumourier had concluded, before the president could make a reply, which he did at length in the following terms—' Citoyen Général—L'accueil que vous venez de recevoir de la convention nationale exprime mieux que je ne le pourrois faire sa satisfaction de vos services, et la haute opinion qu'elle a conçue de vos talens et de votre patriotisme. Continuez, citoyen général, continuez à diriger les soldats de la liberté dans

At St. Menehould the soldiers of freedom displayed other military virtues, without which valour itself may become hurtful, namely, confidence in their officers, obedience, patience, and perseverance. That part of France is barren, and destitute of wood and water. The Germans will remember it. Their slavish blood, with which it is drenched, may perhaps render it more fertile. The weather was uncommonly wet and cold, our soldiers were ill-clothed, they had neither straw to lie upon, nor blankets to cover them, and sometimes they were for two entire days without bread: for such was the position of the enemy, that our convoys were obliged to make a circuit, by cross roads, at all times bad, but then rendered worse by the late excessive rains. Here I must do justice to the commissaries of stores and forage: notwithstanding all the obstacles of bad roads, bad weather, and of sudden movements, which I could not always foresee, and, when I did, was often obliged to conceal, they supplied us as well as possibly could have been expected. And it is with pleasure I take this opportunity of declaring, that the health of your army is owing to their extraordinary care and diligence. Amidst all the difficulties I have stated, the soldiers were never heard to murmur: on hearing the songs of joy which resounded from every corner of our warlike camp, it might have been mistaken for one of those camps of pleasure in which luxurious monarchs formerly assembled regimented automatons to manœuvre for the amusement of their children and mistresses.

The hope of victory supported the soldiers of liberty. Their fatigues and hardships have been fully compensated. The enemy sunk under fatigue, famine, and disease. That formidable army was diminished one-half; directed by the dead bodies of men and horses Kellermann pursues them at the head of forty thousand men.

I purpose to march immediately with the same number to succour the department of the North, and to the relief of our esteemed and unfortunate friends, the inhabitants of Brabant and Liege.

I am come hither, for four days, to settle with the council the plan of our winter campaign—I avail myself of the opportunity to pay my duty to you. I bind myself by no new oaths; but I will shew myself worthy of commanding the sons of liberty, and faithful in support of those laws which the sovereign people are now about to frame through you.

le chemin de la victoire: continuez à vous couvrir de lauriers; continuez a bien servir la patrie, et vous acquerres de nouveaux droits a la reconnoissance de la republique.

'La convention nationale vous invite, ainsi que vos fréres d'armes, à la seance.'*

One of the deputies then moved, that the convention should authorize the president to demand of General Dumourier what he thought respecting the affair of Dillon.

This was done accordingly, and Dumourier readily answered, that he had read a copy of the letter in question; that he considered it merely as a bravado on the part of Dillon, and of little importance, especially as General Dillon had soon after pursued the Hessians with the utmost vigour.

Having said this, Dumourier, with the officers who accompanied him, entered the hall—Many of the deputies rose and saluted him, after which he seated himself among them.

Two officers then appeared at the bar, one of whom addressing the assembly, said,—'Legislators, the adjutant-general of the army of the North presents you with a standard taken in the midst of fire and slaughter from the French emigrants; as soon as it was seen by the soldiers of liberty, they broke through the squadrons of those traitors, and tore it from them.'

The president having made a suitable answer, Vergniaud observed, that several standards which had been won from despotism were already hanging in the hall; that as those were honourable trophies of the victories of

* Citizen General—The reception you have met with from the national convention is a stronger testimony than any expression of mine could be, of their approbation of your conduct, and of their high opinion of your talents and patriotism. Citizen general, continue to lead the soldiers of liberty in the road of victory—continue to gather laurels—persist in serving your country, and you will acquire new claims to the gratitude of the republic.

the republic, they were worthy of being exposed to the view of the citizens:—but as for this, he added, around which the enemies of their native country, a set of assassins, whom you have destined to the scaffold, fought—this odious flag ought not to shock your sight; I move, therefore, that it be delivered into the hands of the executioner, and publicly committed to the flames.

This proposal was applauded and adopted. Dumourier remained in the assembly till it broke up. He was dressed in the uniform of a general officer, blue and gold lace: he is said to be a great deal less attentive to dress than is usual in France; but in any dress I should know him to be a Frenchman. He possesses the peculiar vivacity of air and manner that distinguishes the natives of this country. I understand that he is remarkably entertaining and agreeable in conversation; that, though he has indulged in pleasure, and yielded to dissipation, yet he is capable of the most indefatigable exertion, both of body and mind, when the importance of the object requires it; that he has always been fonder of pleasure than of money, and ever ready to sacrifice both for renown. His enemies, who allow that he possesses great acuteness of mind, and the most unshaken courage, throw doubts upon his steadiness in other respects. His military talents have been sufficiently evinced in the course of the last memorable campaign: without the singular circumstances which raised him to command, and drew them into action, the man who with inferior force baffled the attempts of the most renowned generals of the age, would have remained undistinguished and subordinate to those on whom birth without talents, or age which has not profited by experience, so often devolves the command of armies.

Paris, October 13.

The minds of the Parisians are greatly elevated by the wonderful success of the French arms. The repulse of the Austrians at Lille, the fortunate expedition of Ge-

neral Anselme into the county of Nice, the reduction of Savoy, the rapid progress of Custine on the Rhine, and, above all, the retreat of the Prussians, are events of a nature to have raised the national vanity of a people less susceptible of its influence than the French.

They seem convinced that their arms are irresistible, and they begin to indulge the most romantic ideas. Of all failings to which mankind are liable, vanity is the most comfortable; and perhaps it may be fortunate for a people entangled in circumstances rather vexatious, to take this for a compensation. But should the convention be affected in the same way, it may be attended with afflicting consequences to the country. I heard some things this day in the assembly, and also from one of the deputies, with whom I had some conversation since, that give reason to suspect that the romantic notions above alluded to are not confined to the people without doors.

The late successes are imputed, beside the valour of the troops, to the superior dexterity, sagacity, and natural quickness of the French cannoneers over those of all other nations.

It has been proposed to erect a monument in the town of Varennes in commemoration of the flight of two kings, meaning Lewis XVI, who fled to that town, and the king of Prussia, who lately retired through it; those who make the proposal give this inscription for the monument, *Regibus fugatis*; and add this reflection, *Dans peu, cheque état aura son Varennes.*

Every stroke of satire directed against kings is sure of being well received by the convention.

The war minister seems sensible of this—He transmitted to it lately an intercepted letter, which he pretends is from some person at Berlin, addressed to the Prussian minister, Bischofswerder, in which the writer asserts, that the people are highly displeased at the part their sovereign has taken against the French nation, and that the following epigram on that subject is read with delight—Un jour Dieu voulut épargner une ville à cause d'un juste qui

y étoit; aujourd'hui un prince Allemand veut faire périr toute la France pur unimbécille couronne qui s'y trouve.'

But in the midst of this exultation on account of their success against external enemies, and of all this severity against kings, the representatives of the people seem not to have it in their power to punish the insolence of certain persons within the city of Paris.

The convention decreed, that the election of the municipal officers of Paris should be by ballot. Certain turbulent people, who wish the electors to be overawed by the mob, disapproved of this, and prevailed on the section of the Theatre François to proceed according to the old method of voting aloud.—For this act of disobedience and contempt the president and secretary of the section were ordered to appear at the bar of the assembly.—Being questioned by the president, they answered in a style that by no means indicated repentance; yet, as they did not avow an intention of persisting in their disobedience, a very slight apology was accepted, and the two culprits were admitted to the honours of the sitting—of course this feeble attempt to maintain authority will encourage disobedience. Buzot took this occasion to urge the necessity of adopting the measure of having a body of troops at the command of the convention, to insure obedience to its decrees, and protect the persons of the deputies.

There are certain members of the assembly, who, deriving their importance entirely from the favour of the rabble, are prepared to oppose this measure; but as the majority approve of it, their opposition, it is thought, will be soon overcome.

October 14.

I was sitting this morning in the conventional assembly, when suddenly the firing of cannon was heard; this produced some signs of emotion among the deputies, who, like me, were ignorant of the cause.

Having been accustomed to such sounds on account of victories, or some other occasion of public rejoicing, a

noise of this nature was formerly apt to excite cheerful and agreeable ideas only. The impression I had in the present instance was of a very different nature. The firing which took place when the royal family were sitting in the same box on the 10th of August, instantly sprang up in my mind; an idea closely linked with that of the execrable 2d of September, and the dreadful peal which was the harbinger of three continued days and nights of blood and slaughter.

Those unpleasant reflections were removed when I was informed that the firing in the present case was on account of the festival which had been decreed for the success of the arms of the republic in Savoy.

I immediately left the assembly, and went through the gardens of the Tuilleries to the Place de Louis XV, now called the Place de la Revolution.

A statue, with the emblems of Liberty, was placed on the pedestal on which the equestrian statue of Lewis XV formerly stood. On the east and west side of the pedestal was inscribed, République Françoise, 1792: on the south side, Entrée de Montesquiou à Chambéry, Capitale du Duché de Savoye; on the north, Entrée d'Anselme dans le Comté de Nice et Montalban.

A large body of the national guards, with a number of armed citizens from all the different sections of Paris, with displayed banners, marched in procession to the place.

A deputation from the national convention, and another from the municipality of Paris, attended at an amphitheatre erected for the purpose, near the statue of Liberty. A great number of Savoyards of both sexes and all conditions, holding each other by the hand, and with every appearance of joy, preceded by a band of music, marched between two long ranks of men armed with pikes to the square, and were received by the acclamations of an immense number of spectators. All the colours and banners of the different regiments assembled in the square were arranged around the statue of Liberty. A numerous

band of music then performed the hymn of the Marseillois, and that favourite song was sung by some chosen singers of the band; and most of the people with whom this vast and magnificent square was crowded joined in the chorus. After which the cannon were repeatedly fired, and in the intervals the sky resounded with universal shouts of Vive la republique.

The hymn of the Marseillois is called for every evening at every theatre in Paris, and nothing can exceed the enthusiasm with which it is heard.

I went last night to a new musical piece called The Ephesian Matron. The house was pretty full, but the appearance of the audience was very different from what I recollect to have been usual on such occasions before the revolution.

The women still display fancy and some degree of elegance in their dress, but the men are universally dressed with the utmost simplicity. I sat in the parquet next to a remarkably tall man wrapt in a drab coloured great coat, who seemed between sixty and seventy years of age. On his withdrawing, I was told that this was Admiral d'Estaing, who commanded the French fleet and army in America and the West Indies in the last war.

The conduct of the count d'Estaing was more universally approved of during the late war, than since the revolution.

He was commander of the national guards at Versailles in October 1789, when a mob from Paris broke into the palace, murdered some of the guards, and committed many shameful excesses.

M. d'Estaing appeared to be at once a friend to the principles of the revolution, and an assiduous courtier.

In a nation whose constitution is mellowed by time, and where the subjects have experienced the blessing of that liberty which the spirit of their ancestors obtained, united to the tranquillity arising from the monarchical form of their government; a love of freedom not only is compatible with attachment to the monarch, but as long as he go-

verns according to the principles of the constitution, those sentiments mutually strengthen each other.

But, in a nation on whose government the scions of freedom are but newly engrafted, at the expense of the monarch, and without having hitherto produced any palatable fruit, the case is different. The struggles and animosities between those who produced the alteration, and those who opposed it, are too recent; mutual suspicion and a sense of mutual accusations are still existing; and he who attempts to be the friend of both parties is trusted by neither.

M. d'Estaing has taken no part in the latest transactions; he seems to desire to live unnoticed, and hitherto has been undisturbed.

October 15.

The emigration of the noblesse has been so very extensive, that it is rare to meet with any person of name within the walls of Paris, particularly any who have ever been employed or intrusted by the ancient government. Yet those of this description who venture to remain in France, are perhaps in less danger in Paris than in a provincial town; because in the capital there is always a sufficient force to suppress *partial* and *incidental* tumults, provided the magistrates are disposed to call it forth, and make use of it; whereas in the villages and provincial towns a tumult may be excited, which the magistrates, were they ever so much inclined, are unable to quell.

A groundless suspicion, or a calumny invented and propagated by an enemy, may kindle the fury of a few fanatics, and the head of the person who is the object of it may be fixed on a pike before the magistrate can assemble force to protect him.

His innocence is made apparent when it is too late; every body laments his fate; the murderers however are excused, because they were misled (*egaré* is the palliative word used on such occasions) by the noblest of all errors, too much zeal for their country's good; and tranquillity

is restored only till fresh suspicions and calumnies excite new murders.

I heard a petition read in the convention from the widow of a sword-cutler of Charleville. A report had been spread that he furnished arms to the enemy: this immediately roused the people, and in the first fury of their civisme, as it is called, they cut off his head. Very soon after it appeared that the report was false, and that the unfortunate sword-cutler had always been a zealous patriot. Some of the deputies seemed very much shocked at this; but I heard one observe, with great coolness, that he was sorry for what the people of Charleville had done; and then added, with an air of sagacity, 'but the best people in the world are liable to be mistaken.'

However ready the French are to accuse individuals, the inhabitants of the most despotic country are not more afraid of speaking treason, than the French are of saying any thing to the disadvantage of the *people:* no nation was ever more indulgent to the caprices of its tyrant, than France is at present to that most capricious and bloody of all tyrants, Le Peuple Souverain.

Some of the battalions which have been lately raised at Paris, though retained in tolerable subordination while they continued within the capital, and surrounded with the national guards of all the sections, have been guilty of great excesses since they left it. The first division of the gendarmes à pied de Paris, on entering lately into the town of Cambray, broke open the prison and set all the prisoners at liberty, except one man, whom they, in their wisdom, thought justly confined. On these troops leaving the town, all the prisoners whom they had set free were again confined by order of the magistrates; but the second division, passing through the same town the day following, threw open the prisons once more, and beheaded the unfortunate person whom their companions had kept in confinement when they gave freedom to all the other prisoners. They murdered in the same manner several of their officers, who were endeavouring to prevent

their excesses, and bring them to order. An official account of these alarming transactions has been read to the convention, and was immediately referred to the war committee; but what makes it doubtful whether any effectual measures would be taken to punish those assassins, is, that Marat continues to palliate, and almost to justify, every crime of the nature that is committed, whether by the populace or soldiers. Until the assembly are able and willing to suppress his journal, and punish the author, what hope is there that they will have it in their power to remedy or prevent that bloodshed and anarchy to which the speeches and writings of this man so greatly contribute?

October 16.

The committee appointed to superintend the camp and intrenchments forming near Paris made some propositions yesterday to the convention. They were not agreed to: one member said, that the pitiful farce of *la precaution inutile* had been acted too long, and proposed that an immediate stop should be put to that work, which, after some debate, was decreed.

All ideas of defence are now thought useless.—Nothing but attack, and taking vengeance on the enemies, and maintaining the dignity, of the republic, is now spoken of.

If, however, there be dignity in assuming some degree of loftiness in transacting with the powerful potentates who invaded the country, there surely is none in affecting a dictatorial tone with the weakest of their neighbours. This domineering spirit, however, appears too much in the conduct of the convention towards Geneva, the comfortable condition of whose citizens for a series of years has sufficiently proved that the happiness of the subject does not depend on the extent of the state's territories. Geneva has been considered as the nursery of freedom, and has long maintained, by the prudence of her councils, that independency which was obtained by the valour

of her citizens, whose prudent conduct the French would do well to imitate, if they wish the republic of France to be as durable as that of Geneva.

Some members of the convention have taken offence, because Geneva lately thought proper to demand those succours from the cantons of Berne and Zurich, to which they are entitled on emergencies like the present by existing treaties.

Although France had not invaded Savoy, the state of disorder in which the former has been, the excesses which have been committed by the French army in various parts of the country, in spite of the decrees of the convention at Paris, rendered it highly expedient for the republic of Geneva to take every measure in her power to secure the town from a sudden attack. For, however well-disposed the convention might be, who could say that a band of patriots, some independent portion of the peuple souverain, would not, without consulting the convention, seize on Geneva? But measures of precaution became still more necessary when France declared war against the king of Sardinia, and when a French army was ready to invade Savoy; for as the possession of the city of Geneva might be advantageous to either of the armies, in order to preserve a strict neutrality, it was necessary to guard it from both. The republic therefore received within the walls of Geneva 1600 men of the militia of Zurich and Berne; a force which, joined to that of the citizens, might secure the town from being seized by a sudden assault, but could not be considered as an act of hostility against France; even although there had been no previous treaty between Geneva and the Swiss cantons by which she was entitled to claim this succour.

Geneva is acknowledged by all the powers of Europe as an independent state: it seems contradictory to acknowledge sovereignty and independency in a state, and then complain of so natural an exercise of it as the calling in the aid of neutral powers to enable it to maintain strict neutrality.

The convention seems, however, to have been guilty of this contradiction, and at the same time displayed unbecoming pride in superciliously passing to the order of the day at the meeting of yesterday, after hearing the explanations from the council of Geneva read, and in approving of the haughty conduct of their commissioners towards that state. This ill accords with the prudent and pacific tenor of the declarations which the national assembly formerly made, and stamps credit on the assertions of the enemies of the revolution, that the treatment which Geneva now receives from the new republic is a specimen of what all the neighbouring states may expect.

Although it may be thought natural that a monarch, particularly an arbitrary one, should, from motives of vanity, avarice, or ambition, endeavour to extend his dominions by war and conquest; yet the vanity or avarice of a private citizen of Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, or any other part of France, can be little gratified by the accession of new provinces. France, therefore, being now a republic, the ambitious and restless spirit of her kings, that fatal source to which the other states of Europe have imputed almost all the wars of the two last centuries, being now dried up, long peace and tranquillity is to be expected when this new form is acknowledged and established.

This reasoning seems plausible *a priori*:—it is unfortunate, however, that the history of the world shews that republican states have been inspired with as violent a desire of conquest, and as restless an ambition, as any monarch from the age of Alexander to that of Lewis XIV. And the spirit which the new republic of France begins already to manifest, gives no reason to expect that the philosophy from which she boasts her origin, has taught her more moderation than her predecessors.

Independent of the dislike one naturally feels of an act of power unsupported by justice, I confess I could not see my old friends, the citizens of Geneva, treated in this manner, without indignation.

When the convention is considered as maintaining the independency of their country against a powerful league, and undismayed by the idea that all the powers of Europe may join in the combination, it is impossible not to respect their firmness. But when they are seen behaving with haughty injustice to a neighbouring people, devoid of the power of resistance or retaliation, and respectable from their talents and virtues only, the conduct of the convention excites a very different sentiment.

October 16.

The convention shewed more moderation this day in their conduct towards the republic of Genoa, than they had manifested towards Geneva; although for many obvious reasons it might have been expected they would have been partial rather to the latter.

The minister for foreign affairs informed them, that in a quarrel which had happened in the port of Genoa, between some Venetian soldiers and the crew of the French frigate Juno, the flag of the frigate had been pulled down and torn in pieces; in consequence of which the Venetians had been imprisoned, and condemned, by a decree of the senate of Genoa, to provide the frigate in a new flag before they should be set at liberty. The minister gave it as his opinion, that as he understood the French sailors were the aggressors, no farther notice should be taken of this affair, but that the convention should remain satisfied with the decision of the senate of Genoa.

Several of the members differed in opinion from the minister. One deputy said, that the decision of the senate of Genoa would have been considered as sufficiently satisfactory under the ancient government, because then ships of war were given by the favour of princes, of their mistresses, and of their valets; and those appointed to command them were of as frivolous characters as those by whose influence the appointments were obtained. But France being now formed into a republic, where talents,

exertion, and the manly virtues alone can lead to promotion, or situations of confidence, and above all, at this time, when the cause of freedom is triumphant, more ample redress should be insisted on.

I perceive that many people expect a great improvement, both in the army and navy, in all essential points, from the new order of things which began in France on the 20th of last September.

It will soon be put to trial whether the rough republican qualities will render men better officers than that gallant spirit and delicate sense of honour, which, in spite of effeminacy and corruption, always formed part of the character of the French noblesse.

I have had frequent conversations with deputies who are supposed to have considerable weight in the convention, concerning the probable fate of the king: they seem to be persuaded that the majority of the assembly, including the most respectable members, are inclined to banishment, and are endeavouring to postpone every motion tending to bring on the trial till the people have cooled so far as to be satisfied with such a sentence, which they fear is not the case at present. A remark made by one of the deputies, it is thought, had great effect on the convention: the remark was,—'Charles I eut des successeurs, les Tarquins n'en eurent point.' *

It is a dreadful thing to think that a judicial or legislative assembly, supposed to be supreme, and which ought to be influenced by no considerations but those of justice and public good, should, in a matter of this moment to their country, and to their own consciences, be under any kind of constraint.

As far as I can perceive, however, the real citizens, or bourgeoise, of Paris, by no means desire the death of the king; and if by the people is understood the profligate idle rabble of the suburbs, and the wretches who are hired to clamour in the public places, what probability is there

* Charles I had successors, the Tarquins had none.

that they will ever cool; or be satisfied with any decision except that which those who hire them, or their own savage dispositions, suggest?

This very day, in the convention, I had an opportunity of judging how little the hopes given by the deputies above mentioned are to be relied on. For at a time when there was no question regarding the king, a member ascended the tribune and said,—'He was going to remind the convention of a part of their duty to their country, of the highest importance, namely, the process of Lewis Capet, (this is the name they generally give the king), which had been too long postponed; he therefore demanded that a day might be fixed for his trial, that the wrongs of the nation might be avenged by the blood of that traitor.'

By trial it is evident he meant execution. I understand his name is Hardy, deputy of the department de Seine Inferieure.—He is a well-looking young man; but the harshness of his sentiment formed a strong contrast with his countenance. This gave rise to many intemperate and foolish expressions from other members who supported the motion for the trial, which they also used as synonymous with execution. One talked of the martyrs of liberty who had fallen before the palace on the 10th of August, whose ghosts called for vengeance on the perjured Lewis. And when another suggested that 'the papers respecting the king's treachery should be printed, and delivered to the members, and that it would require a considerable time before judgment could be pronounced;' a third asserted, that 'Lewis Capet could not be considered as king, because royalty was abolished in France.—What is he then? why, a simple individual, in a state of confinement for trial: but the law,' continued he, 'expressly says, that every person confined for a crime shall be brought to his trial within the space of 24 hours of his being arrested; the assassin Lewis has been too long confined, and ought to be brought to trial and punished as soon as possible.'

On this as on other occasions, I observed that the peo-

ple in the galleries redoubled their applause as often as cruel things were said, and violent measures proposed. This seemed to become a motive with those who wished to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, to proceed in making new proposals; the last always more violent than the former. Yet the discussion was not premeditated, at least it seemed to me to arise accidentally.

Rhul, one of the members for the department of the Lower Rhine, just arrived from Strasbourg, informed the convention, that he had on the road passed a party of dragoons who were conducting thirteen emigrants to Paris, who had been taken in arms on the frontiers.—He was afraid that those unhappy men were in danger of being destroyed by the populace as soon as they should arrive, and thought it his duty to acquaint the convention, that measures might be taken for their safety until they should be legally tried. Whether Rhul introduced the emigrants with an intention to divert the convention from the trial of the king, I know not; but for some time it had that effect, the debate turned to the subject of the emigrants.—But one member seemed displeased with this, and abruptly exclaimed, There are others more guilty than all these emigrants, and whose trial is more pressing.—'Je veux parler de Louis XVI je demande que son procès commence.'

The debate recommenced respecting the trial, and soon became as intemperate as at first. From the hard unfeeling things that were uttered, one might have thought that the hearts of the disputants were of flint: they struck fire from each other so fast, and wrought themselves into such heat, that I expected some violent resolution would have been taken directly.

Tête-à-tête, or in a very small circle, the French are nearly as calm, and generally more ingenious, than most of their neighbours; but a numerous assembly of Frenchmen almost always become turbulent.

Barbaroux of Marseilles then rose, and had the address to put an end to the debate: the argument which proved

effectual, did little honour to those on whom it had influence. He began by asserting the right of the convention, in consequence of the power transmitted by the people, to judge the king.—After having expatiated on this topic at some length, he added,—'But it is expected by all Europe, that you will proceed in a business of that important nature with all possible prudence and deliberation,' [Here something of a murmur was heard in the gallery]: —'because,' added he, raising his voice, 'perhaps Lewis and Marie Antoinette are not the only criminals whom the sword of justice has to strike.'

He no sooner uttered this, than the incipient murmur ended in acclamations of applause.—The certainty which this implied not only that the king and queen would be tried, but condemned and executed, and that several others would meet with the same fate, seemed to please them so much, that they were satisfied with a delay, which perhaps would not have otherwise been carried, and which was all that the moderate part of the convention (who were convinced of the injustice and imprudence of proceeding against the king) durst at that time propose, or had reason to expect.

October 17.

General Dumourier set out early this morning to take the command of the army destined against Austrian Brabant. Some nights ago, accompanied with some of his officers, he attended the meeting of the Jacobins; it is good policy in the general of a French army to pay this piece of respect to a society which has so great and such extensive influence.—He addressed them to this purpose. —'Citizens, you have torn the history of despotism, you have saved France, your efforts in the cause of freedom are engraved by the hand of liberty on the hearts of all good Frenchmen: we are going to finish what we have begun, and we will fulfil your expectations, or perish in the attempt.'—Danton, who was president, answered him to the following effect.—'Citizen General, when La Fay-

ette took flight, you did not despair of the safety of the republic; you rallied our troops weakened by treachery and division; you repelled with a few soldiers the numerous armies of tyrants; you have deserved well of your country:—under your direction the republican pike shall break the regal sceptre, and the cap of liberty shall annihilate the diadem.—We are your brethren and your friends, and your name shall make a shining figure in our history.'—Other members spoke in praise of Dumourier, who at length retired amidst the applause of the society.

I went this evening to the society of the Jacobins, and was witness of a scene of a different kind, and which was little to be expected so soon after what is above described.

It will be proper to mention here an affair which happened about eight days before the general's arrival at Paris.

Dumourier had written a letter to the convention, informing them, that the Parisian battalions of Mauconseil and Republicain had committed a crime which threw dishonour on the French nation, by massacring four Prussian deserters in the town of Rethel, in the department of Ardennes. The particulars of this shocking affair he transmitted to the minister of war, and they appear in a letter from General Chazot to Dumourier, which was read in the convention. The four men in question were dragoons, who deserted from the Prussians to Rethel, where they inlisted in the French army. Some soldiers of the battalions above mentioned, having met the four deserters in a tavern, picked a quarrel with them, abused them as traitors to their country, dragged them into the streets, and threatened to behead them. Chazot, who was in the town, hearing of this, sent orders to protect the men; but the greatest part of the soldiers of both battalions being now joined, formed too strong a body for any force the general had to use against them: all that his messengers could obtain of those mutineers therefore was, that they should carry the deserters before the general, which was

done accordingly. He used every argument and every persuasion (for no other means were in his power) to prevail on these mutinous madmen to use no violence to the deserters; so far from succeeding, some of the wretches cried out, *Si le général s'oppose à nos desirs, il faut l'expédier.'* *

Chazot, finding that his remonstrances only rendered them more furious, pushed through the crowd, and with difficulty escaped to his horse and rode away. He was no sooner gone than the wretched deserters were cut in pieces.

The absurdity of this abominable deed almost equals its barbarity, and this remark may be made with justice on many transactions in this country since the 10th of August. Common prudence might have prevented some of the most unjustifiable, without the suggestions of humanity; and humanity would have prevented them, even where prudence did not exist. This atrocious deed destroyed the hope of weakening the Prussian army by desertion, which had been so great an object with the convention, that a pension of 100 livres had been decreed to every soldier who should desert from the Prussian army to the French; and while it put an end to every expectation of this kind, it also destroyed every hope of quarter or mercy, when any of themselves fell into the hands of the Prussians.†

To expiate this guilt, and vindicate the character of his army, Dumourier had given orders to General Bournonville to march a body of troops with some pieces of artillery against the two battalions, who were ordered to ground their arms, and submit, on pain of being imme-

* If the general opposes our wishes, he must be cut off.

† I have heard it asserted since my return to England, that there was a considerable desertion from the Prussians to the French at the camp at St. Menehould, and that a fear of its increasing was the chief reason of the duke of Brunswick's retreat; which reason he took great pains to conceal. But as the duke's retreat is sufficiently accounted for independent of that, I have allowed the account of it to remain as it was in my journal, according to the intelligence I received at Paris.

diately put to death. They submitted accordingly, their colours were sent to their sections, their arms and uniforms taken from them, and the men themselves ordered in that disgraceful state to Paris, there to wait the pleasure of the convention.

It afterwards appeared that the unfortunate men who had been thus murdered were not native Prussians, but Frenchmen who had inlisted in the Prussian army before the revolution, and had seized the first opportunity of returning to their countrymen.

Marat, having heard of this circumstance, published in his journal, and posted on the walls, accusations against the general, and vindications of the assassins. The former he describes as a debauchee, as an old valet of the court, and, which includes every thing that is wicked, as an aristocrate. The latter he represents as worthy men, full of patriotism, which prompted them to anticipate by a few hours the blow of the executioner on the necks of four traitors. He asserts, that Dumourier, Chazot, and others, calumniate those innocent battalions, on purpose to render the citizens of Paris, and particularly the general council of the commune, *to whom France owes the revolution of the 10th of August*, odious to the country; that the four deserters were not Prussians, as had been perfidiously published by Dumourier, but French emigrants taken in arms, and therefore deservedly put to death by the patriotic battalions.

He likewise accuses Dumourier of having connived at the escape of the Prussians out of France, when he might have forced their camp, and obliged them to lay down their arms; and also for having quitted his own army at this critical time, on purpose to carouse with drunkards and opera girls.

I never was more surprised in my life than when Marat, having ascended the tribune at the Jacobins, began to repeat these assertions. The man's audacity is equal to any thing; but what I thought full as wonderful was the degree of patience, and even approbation, with which

he was heard. The house was crowded, and it contains a very numerous audience. When Marat is in the tribune, he holds his head as high as he can, and endeavours to assume an air of dignity.—He can make nothing of that; but amidst all the exclamations and signs of hatred and disgust which I have seen manifested against him, the look of self-approbation which he wears is wonderful.—So far from ever having the appearance of fear, or of deference, he seems to me always to contemplate the assembly from the tribune, either with the eyes of menace or contempt.

He speaks in a hollow croaking voice, with affected solemnity, which in such a diminutive figure would often produce laughter, were it not suppressed by horror at the character and sentiments of the man.

After having insisted for some time on the guilt of the murdered, the innocence of the murderers, and the cruelty of Dumourier, he informed the society, that he had thought it his duty to question the general in person, that he might learn from himself what he had to say in defence of his conduct towards those two meritorious battalions. Marat then gave a very circumstantial account of his having called on Dumourier the night before he left Paris; that he had been accompanied by two members of the national convention, one of them I think he called Bentabole, the name of the other I do not recollect. At Dumourier's they were informed, that the general was at the Theatre des Variétés, and was not to sup at home. 'A number of carriages, and brilliant illuminations,' continued Marat, 'indicated to us where this son of Mars was supping with the sons and daughters of Thalia; we found soldiers within and without: after traversing some chambers filled with pikemen, musketeers, dragoons, hussars, the warlike suite of the general, we came to a spacious room full of company, at the door of which was Santerre, commander of the Parisian guards, performing the functions of a lackey, or an usher. He announced me aloud, which I was sorry for, because it might have

made those persons disappear whom I should have wished to have seen; but I *did* see some, whom it is of use to mention for the better comprehending the operations of the ruling party in the convention, and letting the public know who are the state jugglers with whom the commander of our armies is most connected. To pass over the officers of the national guards, the aides-de-camp, and others, who paid their court to the great Dumourier,' continued he, 'I saw in this august company the ministers Roland and Le Brun, attended by Kersaint and La Source. As my name had thrown the company into confusion, I probably did not remark all who were present; I only remember these conspirators whom I have named; but it was early, and it is probable that Vergniaud, Bazot, Rabaud, Lacroix, Guadet, Gensonnet, and Barbaroux, were also at this entertainment; for they all belong to the same gang. At sight of me,' continued Marat, looking very fierce, 'Dumourier was appalled.'

At this a number of the society of Jacobins burst into laughter; and one person near me said,—'That is what he was not at the sight of the Prussian army.'

When the laugh was over, Marat, with an unaltered countenance, resumed.—'At sight of me Dumourier was appalled; which is not to be wondered at,' continued he, erecting his head, standing on his tiptoes, and looking very fierce, 'since I am known to be the terror of all the enemies of my country.' He proceeded to inform the society, 'that he had desired to speak with Dumourier in another room; and being there, had asked an account of all the particulars relative to the four deserters: that the general had told him he had already sent those particulars to the war minister, and to the convention, and had no other account to give.' Marat concluded by saying, 'that he had put other questions to the general, which disconcerted him so much that, instead of attempting to answer them, he was forced to sneak away abruptly with affected disdain; and so, having made it clear that he could not justify his conduct, I left this assemblage of ge-

nerals, and actors, and ministers, and mountebanks, to pass the night together.'

Marat endeavoured to enliven this recital with a few jokes, which excited laughter in the Jacobin society, but had not that effect on me.—Marat attempting pleasantry increases the horror which his appearance creates; it gives something of the sensation which I imagine I should have, if a murderer, after cutting a man's throat by a dexterous stroke of a knife, should smile in my face, and tip me the wink.

October 18.

When I went to the convention this morning, the first thing that struck me was the murky figure of Marat standing on the steps which lead to the tribune, watching an opportunity of entering it: there was a great unwillingness to hear him, and he waited near two hours before he obtained the right to speak, some other member being always pointed to by the president.

Marat often exclaimed against this to no purpose, and seizing a moment when the tribune was empty, he began to address the assembly without the president's permission; but his voice was drowned in the outcry against him from all corners.—At length I heard De la Croix, the president, say to those near him,—'Je crois qu'il vaudroit mieux laisser parler ce gueux là;' and raising his voice, he added,—'Marat, je vous donne la parole, mais je ne vous promets pas de vous la maintenir.'*

Marat then entered the tribune, and began the same invective against Dumourier that I heard him pronounce last night at the Jacobins.—He was interrupted by cries of indignation from all sides; one member addressed the president to silence him, and not permit a man who was a disgrace to the assembly to calumniate citizens of the

* I believe we had best allow the fellow to speak.

Marat, I give you the right to speak, but I cannot promise to maintain it with you long.

greatest worth: another added, that his calumnies were praise: all seemed to hold him in execration.

During the uproar, Marat stood with an undisturbed air, looking down on the assembly. When the clamour abated so that his voice could be heard, he said, with an air of irony, and in a tone of sorrow,—'I am really grieved to behold such indecent behaviour in the assembly—Is it not singular that the person whom you to try to overwhelm with unjust clamours, should be more concerned for your honour than you are yourselves? Is it not extraordinary that you should be so much prejudiced against a man animated with patriotism?'—Here there was an universal laugh; but when he attempted to resume his invectives against Dumourier and Chazot, the clamour recommenced, and the assembly shewed the utmost impatience.

Kersaint then informed the assembly that the soldiers of the battalion called Republicain, sensible of their error, had of themselves delivered up the traitors who had excited them to mutiny and murder, and had promised to their general to efface the memory of their crime by their conduct against the enemy.

Marat, seeing that every body rejoiced in the punishment of the ringleaders, had the boldness to assert that he never had justified the conduct of the battalions. The cry in contradiction of this assertion was so universal that he could not proceed, and a member immediately exclaimed,—'A man, whose name it is disagreeable to pronounce, dares to assert, from that tribune, that he never justified the assassins of the unfortunate deserters; in contradiction of which, I do now assert, that last night, at the Jacobins, he said that they merited a civic crown.—Citizens, you may judge of the character of this man from what I have told you. Since he has been chosen as a deputy by the people, and since we are doomed sometimes to hear him, I now move, that as often as he comes out of that tribune, it may be purified before another member enters it.'

After this, the assembly passed to the order of the day. Marat descended, and strutted through the hall, affecting to despise the murmurs which arose against him.

It seems extraordinary that a man so odious, and whose acquaintance every body seems to shun, should venture to attack, in such an abusive manner, a popular and successful general. Yet the difference between the manner in which Marat was heard in the Jacobin society, and in the conventional assembly, is remarkable; and I see people who are persuaded that Marat is supported in secret by those who in public disavow any connection with him. —The same people have also observed, that the prevailing opinion in the Jacobin club always becomes sooner or later the prevailing opinion in the national assembly, and that those suspicions which Marat endeavours to raise against Dumourier, are spread at the instigation of one who has very great influence in that society. That person, however, would do well to remember the words of Orosmane in Zayre.—

'Quiconque est soupçonneux invite à le trahir.'

The presidency of De la Croix ended this day; and Guadet, of the department of the Gironde, was elected by a great majority. Guadet seems to me one of the most acute men in the convention; his speeches are always perspicuous and correct, and sometimes finished with an epigrammatic neatness.

October 10.

Two days ago a letter was read in the convention from the commissioners to the army of the North, acquainting the assembly, that a great number of volunteers had applied for liberty to retire at the end of the campaign.

Some members had represented the danger of permitting this in the present circumstances, and proposed a decree against it. But this measure having been thought harsh to men who had, as volunteers, risked their lives in defence of their country, in a time of great danger; in-

stead of a decree, it was moved, that the convention should send an address to all their armies, inviting the volunteers to prolong their service until the country was declared to be out of danger.—A committee of four, namely, Condorcet, Danton, Herault de Sechelles, and Vergniaud, had been accordingly appointed to draw up the address; and I heard Danton read it to the convention this morning. It was rather too long; and although applauded by a few, it was very evident that the generality of the assembly did not much relish it.

A member then rose, and, taking a paper from his pocket, said, that he had composed an address, which he begged leave to read.—This surprised me a good deal; but I did not observe that it produced the same effect on any member of the convention:—it seemed to me a striking instance of that ease with which the natives of France do certain things which would mightily disconcert some of their neighbours. I hardly think, that, in any public assembly in England, after a committee had been appointed to draw up an address, any individual of the assembly would offer to read a composition of his own, as preferable to that of four of the most distinguished members in it.—This gentleman, however, ascended the tribune, and read his performance without embarrassment. It had the fate of most productions which are read by their authors, whether in public or private assemblies; it gave far more satisfaction to the reader than to the audience; with this difference, that here the audience did not take the trouble of pretending to admire.

The air of indifference with which this was heard did not discourage another member from offering a third address.—By the style of this performance, and the solemn manner in which it was read, it was evident that the author wished to be considered as a man of depth and learning: he pronounced some sentences with a warmth, which he, no doubt, thought would prove victorious: the warmth with which they were delivered, however, was surpassed

by the coldness of their reception.—Towards the conclusion, resuming his address to the volunteers, he said, Enfin, soldats *philosophes!*

This unexpected epithet raised a laugh that overpowered a yawn which had been gaining very fast on the audience for some considerable time.

I fully expected that so many unfortunate attempts would have prevented any new specimens from being offered, and consequently, that the address of the committee would have been adopted. I was mistaken in both conjectures; for the assembly had no sooner recovered their gravity, than *Faure*, deputy from the department of Lower Seine, desired leave to read one of his composition. He is a man of about sixty years of age, very plain in his dress, and devoid of affectation in his manner.—His address was in the following words.—

CITOYENS SOLDATS,

La loi vous permet de vous retirer: le crie de la patrie vous le defend. Les Romains ont-ils abandonné leurs armes quand Porsenna étoit encore aux portes de Rome? L'ennemi a-t-il passé le Rhin? Longwy est-il repris? Le sang François, dont il a arrosé la terre de la liberté, est-il vengé? Ses ravages et sa barbarie sont-ils punis? A-t-il reconnu la majesté de la rêpublique et la souveraineté du peuple? Soldats, voilà le terme de vos travaux: c'est en dire assez aux braves defenseurs de la patrie. La convention nationale se borne à vous recommander l'honneur François, l'intérêt de la république, et les soins de votre propre gloire.*

* CITIZEN SOLDIERS,

The law allows you, but the voice of your country forbids you, to retire. Did the Romans quit their arms, when Porsenna was still at the gates of Rome? Has the enemy yet repassed the Rhine? Is Longwy retaken? Has the blood of your countrymen, with which the enemy has bedewed this land of liberty, been avenged? Have his ravages and his barbarities been punished? Has he acknowledged the majesty of the republic, and the sovereignty of the people?

Soldiers, these are the end of your labours; nothing more need be said to

The laconic energy of some expressions in this address pleased the convention; it was adopted, ordered to be printed, and transmitted to the armies.

October 20.

This was a day of exultation in the national assembly.—Letters were read from their commissioners giving an account of the retaking of the town of Longwy, and that the Germans were now entirely driven out of France. Flattering accounts also came from the army of Custine, and that of the South: and a paper entitled, 'Addresse de la société des amis de la liberté et de l'egalité séante à Chamberri,' was read.—It begins with this expression.—'Législateurs du monde:' *—and, in the middle of the address to the assembly the king of Sardinia is apostrophized in the following terms.—'O roi de Jérusalem et de Chypre, assez long-temps tes satellites ont appesanti sur nos tetes ton joug de fer!—il est tombé nous l'avons foulé aux pieds, &c. &c.' † It is much in the same strain throughout; and what will appear more extraordinary, this piece of bombast was ordered by the assembly to be printed in French, Spanish, and German, and transmitted to the departments and to the armies.

But a scene took place in the convention yesterday, after I left it, which forebodes more misery to the country than can be compensated by the most brilliant success. An address was read by deputies from the 48 sections of Paris, against the armed force which was sometime since proposed, and the modification of which is now under the deliberation of a committee. By this address the convention is told,—'That it would be putting the members on a footing with tyrants, to surround them with guards—

to the brave defenders of their country. The national convention has only to recommend to your care, the honour of the French nation, the interest of the republic, and your own personal glory.

* Legislators of the world.

† O king of Jerusalem and Cyprus, too long have thy satellites oppressed our necks with thy yoke of iron—it has fallen at last, and we have spurned it under our feet!

pretorian guards—that Paris made the revolution of the 10th of August—and that Paris would maintain it.' They also admonished the convention, that there are those present who contemplate their conduct, and weigh their decisions; and finally, that the sections of Paris consider the project of a guard to the assembly as dangerous and odious.

The answer of Guadet, the president, was sensible and spirited. He said, that the exercise of the sovereignty of the French people, and all the rights of the republic, resided in the convention, which knew how to defend them, and which, though always willing to receive counsel from good citizens, would receive orders from the nation only.

But, in asserting that the convention can defend the rights of the republic, he asserts more than is true:—that an address, in such insolent terms, should be allowed to be read, is a proof not only that the convention has *not* that power, but that the authors of the address know this, and are determined to do all they can to prevent its ever having it, and for that reason oppose the establishment of the guard in question. Yet nothing can be more evident than that, until the convention has the power of imposing silence on the galleries, of protecting the persons of the deputies, and of enforcing its decrees, there can be neither wisdom nor stability in their government.—For, were we to suppose that a few members of the convention, of distinguished capacity, were supported by a majority in measures of wisdom and moderation; yet if they are liable to be insulted by a mob, those deputies who support them one day from conviction, will desert them another through fear, and produce that confusion, and those contradictory measures which have of late occurred, and which, if not remedied, will end in complete anarchy and ruin.

A sufficient body of guards, under the entire disposal of the convention, would prevent this.—But it appears by this address from all the sections, that those who oppose the establishing any guard for the convention, have

not only the direction of the general council of the commune, but also of all the sections of Paris. It is true that the majority of the other departments of France, and of course the majority of the deputies, are for this guard; but I sometimes converse with those who are able to form a much juster notion of what is likely to be the consequence than I can—who are of opinion, that Paris will carry the point against all the other departments; and that whatever the *opinion* of the deputies may continue to be, the majority of their *votes* will, in a short time, be against the armed force.

Indeed it is evident, that, although all the departments of France are, in theory, allowed to have an equal share in the government, yet, in fact, the single department of Paris has the whole power of the government; the other departments govern by representation—Paris rules in person. The majesty of Le Peuple Souverain resides in the capital; and by dint of insurrection, which is always in the power of certain leading persons here, Paris gives the law to the convention and to all France, and will continue to do so till an armed forced is established, and placed entirely under the command of the national convention.

October 21.

The city of Marseilles, on hearing of the danger to which the convention is exposed from the mob, and the people in the galleries, raised a battalion, which was ordered to march to Paris for its protection. The intrepid and decisive behaviour of the fédérés from that city, on the 10th of August, has made a strong impression on the minds of the Parisians; and a body of seven or eight hundred men from Marseilles are considered as equivalent to a much greater number raised elsewhere. As this battalion comes for the express purpose of protecting the convention, its approach has given disquietude to that party who wish the assembly to be overawed by the people in the galleries; endeavours have been used, there-

fore, to create a prejudice against the Marseillois in the minds of the populace of Paris—and particularly in the patriotic sans-culottes of St. Antoine and St. Marcel. It is circulated that they are brought to the capital for some purpose of aristocracy. The name of Marseillois is in such estimation, that this insinuation has hitherto had little effect.

The battalion is arrived, and this day sent a deputation to the convention. A member of the deputation pronounced a speech full of energy at the bar.—'We set out,' said he, 'from the shore of the Mediterranean, to offer our lives in defence of our brethren of Paris, then threatened by the soldiers of despotism; but that danger is over, and the only enemies which remain for us to fight, are those who desire to erect a *tribunitial or dictatorial* power in France.—Legislators, you are delegated by the eighty-three departments; we have as great an interest in you, therefore, as the citizens of Paris.—We know that certain men tell the Parisians that the convention has a design of establishing pretorian guards around them for the purposes of tyranny—one word is a sufficient refutation of that calumny—*We* shall belong to those guards.—Representatives, the children of Marseilles know how to obey, as they know how to fight; they hate *dictators* as they hate kings; and you may count upon them for the maintenance of your laws, and of your authority.'

Another person came afterwards to the bar of the assembly, and accused Marat in the severest terms.—'That bloody-thirsty man,' said he, 'after having preached murder and carnage within the city of Paris, now disperses his journals among the armies, to excite the soldiers to mutiny. The electors of Paris have dishonoured themselves in choosing such a person, and you will partake of that dishonour; you will cover yourselves with the blood which Marat has caused to be shed, if you do not expel him from among you, and punish him for his crimes.'

Some members endeavoured to interrupt the speaker,

and the president reminded him that he ought to speak with respect of a representative of the people.

'It is not Marat, the representative of the people, I attack,' resumed the speaker; 'it is Marat the journalist, the incendiary, against whom the French republic, and human nature, call for vengeance.'

A member said, that this petition against Marat was not in due form; that before the accusation could be sent to the committee of general safety, they ought to collect all the proofs that were against him.—'If you insist upon *all*, they must be brought in a waggon,' said another.

The protectors of Marat, for it is evident that this man has protectors in the convention, said every thing they could to persuade the assembly to pass to the order of the day, without further notice of this petition, or accusation; but in spite of all their efforts it was ordered to be transmitted to the committee of general safety.

The address from the sections of Paris against the armed force, is a manœuvre of Danton and his friends; and their having the influence to obtain it gives a higher idea of their strength than has been hitherto entertained.

The deputation of the Marseillois is considered as a measure of Roland and the Girondists, to give the convention an idea of the protection it has to expect, till such time as a more regular armed force shall be decreed.

October 22.

A very short time after the 10th of August, those who had been united against the court divided, and became hostile to each other. Roland had been chosen minister for the home department, He has the appearance of a man of sincerity, and, whether he deserves it or not, he has the reputation of a man of probity, is supported by a great number who are considered as the best intentioned in the assembly, and also by some who are distinguished for their talents; among the latter are, Vergniaud, Guadet, Buzot, Brissot, Rabaut de St. Etienne, Jean Baptiste Louvet, La Source, Kersaint, Petion Lanjuinais, and Barbaroux.

Roland was likewise intimately connected with Claviere, Servan, and Le Brune: the two first had formerly been in the administration with him, and Le Brune was placed as minister for foreign affairs, after the 10th of August.

The confidence which the people, and the majority of the assembly, put in the integrity of Roland, and the support he had from so many men of the best abilities in the assembly, excited the jealousy of certain members, particularly of Danton, who could not bear to see a man, whom he considered as far inferior in understanding to himself, in possession of so much credit.

It is imagined that Danton had formed a plan for preventing Roland from continuing in administration, and which, if it had fully succeeded, would also have excluded him from being of the convention.

It is even believed by some that he was elected a deputy to the convention without his own application or knowledge. According to the constitution, no member of the national assembly can hold the office of minister: it was imagined that Roland would resign the situation of minister, that he might be of the convention; and it has since appeared, that there were certain flaws in his election as a deputy, which, as is supposed, were known to those who had brought it about, and which would have rendered it void: and thus, had he resigned his office of minister, as Danton did, he might afterwards have found himself precluded from the conventional assembly. But before this could be brought to trial, it was proposed in the convention that Roland should be *invited* by the assembly to remain in administration. This proposal had not been foreseen by Danton; he opposed it with all his might; and in this he was joined by all his friends. The good qualities of Roland having been enumerated by those who were for the invitation, that very circumstance, with the popularity of the man, were laid hold of, as grounds of jealousy, and reasons against his being invited. One deputy put them in mind, that a Greek, in the senate of Athens, had declared that he would not give his

vote for Aristides, because he was tired of hearing him called *the just*: another deputy said, that as often as he heard any member of the assembly greatly applauded, he trembled for his liberty.

If these reasons were used as pretexts, and in the expectation that they would have the effect to prejudice the assembly against Roland, those who urged them must have a poor opinion of the understanding of their audience. If, on the contrary, they really thought that a man's being considered as a just man, rendered him dangerous as a minister, their audience had a right to think meanly of theirs.—I perceive an affectation in the convention to adopt maxims and usages from antiquity, which, however just and applicable they might be at a former age, and in a different country, are by no means suitable to France in the present circumstances. This disposition of misapplying general maxims, very often renders the weak the dupes of the worthless.

Notwithstanding the opposition, however, the convention was on the point of decreeing, that Roland should be invited to remain in administration; which Danton perceiving, he could no longer restrain his ill-humour, but peevishly said,—'If you are determined on this measure, I move that the invitation be extended to Madame Roland, who is known to assist her husband with her counsel.' *

This illiberal sally was heard with disapprobation by the assembly, and would have had no effect in preventing the invitation which had been proposed, had not Cambon spoken against it. He observed, that to *invite* a minister to continue in office, was in some degree to weaken his responsibility; and Buzot declaring that this observation had so much weight with him as to make him alter his opinion, the invitation was no more insisted on.

The day following, Roland, in a letter to the convention, expressed his concurrence in sentiment with those

* Madame Roland has the reputation of being a most accomplished and amiable woman.

who thought that to invite a minister to continue, would be derogatory from the rigorous principles of republicanism, and tended besides to render him less responsible than he ought to be: that, however, the convention having even deliberated on such a measure he considered as highly honourable to him, and a motive to engage him to retain his office of minister, and to wave that of deputy: that the danger which he plainly perceived would attend him in the first situation, was another inducement for his retaining it; but that his chief motive, however such a declaration might be construed by his enemies, was, that he thought his continuing minister would, in the present circumstances, be advantageous for his country.

Perhaps nothing but conscious integrity could induce a man of sense to hold such language: but certainly nothing but a strong conviction of its truth on the mind of the convention, and a sentiment of high esteem for the person who used it, could prevent it from being thought presumptuous. Roland's letter excited no such sensation.—The instant it was perceived that he had resolved to continue in office, the greatest joy appeared in the assembly, and his letter was ordered to be printed, and sent to all the departments.

Roland has continued minister for the home department ever since. I have seen him frequently in the place appointed for the ministers, which is immediately within the bar, and opposite to the president. None of them ever come to the assembly unless they have been sent for, or when they have something to state, on which they wish to have the instructions of the convention,—and they withdraw as soon as they have made their report, without taking any part in the debate.

On such occasions I have seen some of them obliged to remain several hours before they were heard. For, if a debate is already begun when a minister enters, he is generally allowed to sit unnoticed in his place till it be finished. Some of Roland's addresses to the convention are distinguished for correctness and elegance. It is said,

that they owe the latter to his wife: this report is founded entirely on presumption, Mrs. Roland being a woman of taste and literature; and it is circulated not so much with a view to add to her reputation, as to detract from that of her husband.

When he enters, there is generally a whisper of approbation in the assembly, and, while he is speaking, I have often heard the deputies near me say, with fervour,—*Ah le digne homme! le brave ministre!* What proves that he and those connected with him enjoy the confidence of the majority of the convention, is, that the president and the secretaries have hitherto been chosen from among his friends.

Roland was the popular minister, whose dismission raised so great a clamour against the court. One of the pretexts for the shameful irruption of the populace into the king's palace, on the 20th of June, was to present a petition for his recall. If Roland himself had any hand in promoting that insurrection, he has little claim to the epithet which was applied to Aristides. Those who wish to succeed him and his friends in their offices, represent them to the people as in all points as dangerous to liberty as ever the court was: so that it is not improbable but that Roland and his friends may fall the victims of the example given on the 20th of June, of overawing the legislative power, and attacking the executive, by a mob.

The duke of Rochefoucauld was at that time president of the department of Paris, and was zealous to bring the authors of that insurrection to punishment. The zeal he shewed upon that occasion was thought to be the remote cause of his murder.

The assassinations formerly mentioned, that were committed at Clermont, at Cambray, at Charleville, by the volunteers as they passed through these places, seem to have proceeded from want of discipline, and from the caprice, prejudice, and cruelty, which are so apt to gain upon vulgar and uninstructed men, assembled in great numbers, and under no controul. Great pains have been

taken to spread the opinion, that some other murders which have been committed in the provinces, were entirely owing to a sudden, unpremeditated commotion of the people,—particularly the horrid assassination of the duke of Rochefoucauld. It is generally believed, however, that the murder of this nobleman originated in more distant causes, and more concealed promoters.

M. de la Rouchefoucauld was a man of humanity and candour. Unseduced by the advantages enjoyed by those of his own rank, he felt with generous sympathy for the distressed situation of others: he beheld with satisfaction the overthrow of the old arbitrary system of government, in the hopes of seeing one more agreeable to justice erected in its stead.—A friend to monarchy as well as freedom, M. de la Rochefoucauld had in his contemplation a monarchy of milder aspect than his country had ever enjoyed—more limited in its nature, but with sufficient power in the prince to defend his prerogatives, and sufficient means in the people to resist tyranny; more agreeable to humanity, more conducive to the general happiness, not only of the people, which is infinitely the most important object, but also of the monarch himself, if he happens to be a man of sense.

The duke of Rochefoucauld was president of the department of Paris on the 20th of June 1792, and did all in his power in the first place to prevent, and afterwards to discover and bring to punishment, the instigators of the scandalous irruption of an armed multitude into the king's palace.

Having made frequent allusions to the transactions of that day, I shall here give a short account of them.

For several days before the 20th of June it was known all over Paris, that the inhabitants of the fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marcel intended to march in arms to the Tuilleries, on pretence of presenting a petition to the king—but in reality with the design of intimidating and forcing him to sanction two decrees of the national assembly, which he had hitherto refused,

The council of the department of Paris, of which M. de Rochefoucauld was president, did every thing in their power to prevent an attempt of a nature so unjustifiable, so contrary to the principles of the constitution, and which might be attended with the most fatal consequences.

This council made representations to the mayor of Paris, to the procureur of the commune, and to Santerre, who at that time was commander of the battalion of les enfans-trouvés.

But unfortunately those to whom the council of the department made these representations, and whose peculiar duty it was to prevent the intended procession, were the very people who had planned it, and were secretly promoting it with all their influence.

The inhabitants of the two suburbs began to assemble in arms, on the morning of the 20th of June, at the place where the Bastile formerly stood As accounts of this came from all quarters, to these secret instigators, some of whom were magistrates, they could not decently avoid making a shew of opposing it. When the multitude were at the height of enthusiasm, and ready to march, those magistrates appeared in their municipal scarfs, and gravely *admonished* the people to depart peaceably home, lay up their arms, and go to bed.—'You have acted *your* part,' said one of the rabble; 'move out of the way, and let us act ours.' The procession began at nine in the morning; the battalion of St. Antoine marched first: between it and that of St. Marcel banners were carried sufficiently expressive of the design of this ceremony, if it had been at all doubtful On one was inscribed these words.—

Tyrans, tremblez, ou soyez justes,
Et respectez la liberté du peuple. *

On another,—

Louis, le peuple et las de souffrir †

* Tyrants, tremble, or be just,
And respect the liberty of the people.

† Lewis, the people are weary of suffering.

On a third,—

Tremble, tyran, ta derniere heure est venue. *

On a fourth,—

Le rappel des ministres, la sanction ou la mort. †

Other banners were carried, ornamented with vile allegorical figures, and suitable inscriptions.

They marched to the hall of the national assembly, and required permission to walk through it in procession. A member made a speech against the granting of this request, giving for his reason, that the petitioners were armed, and in great numbers; but, as this orator's eloquence, while it opposed the mob's being let in, proved that they could not be kept out, the assembly graciously granted the prayer of the petitioners, and, in consequence, was amused for three hours with a procession of armed men, accompanied by women and children, marching through the hall. Among other ingenious emblems, a pair of old black breeches were carried on a pole, with this comfortable inscription.—Libres—et sans-culottes.‡

From the national assembly the armed multitude went to the palace, where there was a considerable number of troops on duty; but no orders having been given to resist, and many portions of the multitude who formed the procession being conducted by men dressed in municipal scarfs, the gardens and courts of the Tuilleries were crowded in an instant. One body marched with more regularity than the rest, dragging some pieces of cannon with them, and conducted by Santerre, and Legendre the butcher.—The multitude soon after rushed into every apartment, calling aloud, that they must see the king; they had a petition to present. M. Acloque, commandant of the second legion of national guards, having placed some grenadiers at the door of the apartments nearest to

* Tremble, tyrant, thy last hour is come.

† The recal of the ministers, the sanction, or death.

‡ Free—and without breeches.

the king's, told two municipal officers, that if they would prevent the mob from proceeding, he would inform the king of their request, and that he was persuaded his majesty would receive twenty of their number, according to the law.—He then went to the door of the king's apartment, which he found shut—he knocked, and begged that he might be instantly admitted, saying that he came to save the king's life.—The door of the chamber was opened; he found the king, with the queen, the prince, the princess royal, Madame Elizabeth the king's sister, and the following gentlemen.—The marechal de Mouchy; Beaulieu, minister of the finances; Lajard, minister of war; Terrier de Monciel, minister of the home department; the count d'Hervilly, marechal de camp and commander of the horse guards.

M. Acloque, perceiving that they had their swords drawn, and seemed determined to sacrifice their lives in defence of the royal family, entreated them to sheath their swords, otherwise they would increase the danger in which the king was.—In a short time a great noise was heard at the door, the rabble were breaking it open, with pikes, axes, and the butt end of muskets. The king himself ordered the doors to be thrown open:—before this was done, the ends of some of the musquets and pikes had been driven through the door—twenty or thirty of the mob burst into the room.

M. Acloque accosted them with a firm voice.—'Citizens, respect your king—the law commands it; and we will all perish rather than suffer his being insulted.'—One of the company at the same instant calling out, Vive la nation! Vive le roi! the intruders stopped short.

It was then proposed to the king, that he should stand on a seat in the room commonly called L'Œil de Beuf, to prevent his being pressed upon, and that he might be seen by the people, who were entering in great numbers; to which he consented.—The queen, at the king's desire, with the royal children, went into the adjacent room;

but Madame Elizabeth kept constantly by his side, rejecting every entreaty that was made by the king himself and others to quit him for an instant.

On the 6th of October 1789, when the mob marched from Paris to Versailles and broke into the palace, the princess Elizabeth attached herself to the person of the queen, whose life she knew was at that time more threatened by those ruffians than that of her brother; and on the present occasion, as he was in greater danger, she adhered to him.

Four grenadiers of the national guards appearing at the door, the princess, who had betrayed no symptom of fear on her own account, burst into tears at sight of them, and said,—'*Ah! messieurs, defendez le roi.*'

Those four grenadiers, an officer of chasseurs, a cannoneer, with the gentlemen above mentioned, placed themselves around the king and the princess Elizabeth, and with admirable constancy kept off the pressure of the crowd, and protected the person of the king for above three hours; the marechal de Mouchy, in spite of his great age, remaining the whole time. All the adjacent rooms, meanwhile, swarmed with a mixed rabble of men and women, armed with pikes, sabres, sticks with knives fixed at their ends, fusils and pistols; many of them calling,—'A bas le veto, au diable le veto!' and some of them shewing so much fury, that those around the king's person had difficulty in keeping them off.

One fellow, mounted on a chair, spoke to the king in the most audacious manner, requiring the recall of the patriot ministers, meaning Roland, Claviere, and Servan, whom the king had a little before dismissed; he also required that the two decrees should obtain his approbation. —To which his majesty answered with firmness,—'Je ferai ce que je croira devoir faire; mais ce n'est ni le lieu, ni le moment, de me faire une pareille demande.'*

* I will do what I ought; but this is neither the place nor the time to make a request of that nature.

A red cap was reached to the king at the end of a pike, by a man who cried,—Vive la nation!—The king said, —'La nation n'a pas de meilleur ami que moi.'* On which the other insolently added,—'Eh bien, donnez nous en la preuve en mettant le bonnet rouge, et en criant 'Vive la nation!'†

On attempting to put on the red cap, it was found too small for the king's head; but a grenadier having stretched it upon his knee, the king put it on, and wore it as long as the mob remained.

At one time, when the noise and confusion was greater than usual, a grenadier, addressing the king, said,—'Sire, n'ayez pas peur.' On which he answered,—'I am not in the least afraid, friend.' So saying, he pressed the soldier's hand to his breast, that he might feel that his heart beat calmly.

Among those armed with various weapons, one ruffian brandished a pike with the heart of a calf stuck on the point, from which hung a label with this inscription. —'Cœur des aristocrates.'‡

To the noisy requisitions that were made from all corners of 'Otez le veto! rappellez les ministres!' the king answered, that he would do what was just.—Legendre the butcher, thinking this expression rather equivocal, took this opportunity of giving the monarch a specimen of his eloquence.—'*Monsieur*,' said Legendre—the king seeming a little surprised at this new style and manner, for this man's manner is as extraordinary as his style—'*Monsieur*,' repeated Legendre, 'écoutez nous; oui, *monsieur*, vous êtes fait pour nous écouter, vous êtes un perfide, vous nous avez toujours trompés, vous nous trompez encore; mais prenez garde à vous, monsieur, la mesure est à son comble, et le peuple est las de se voir votre jouet.'§

* The nation has no better friend than I am.

† Prove it then, by putting on the red cap, and by crying 'Vive la nation!'

‡ The heart of aristocrates.

§ Sir, listen to us—yes, sir, it is your duty to attend to us; you have always

In a company lately, where the conversation turned on the conduct of Legendre, every body present blamed it, except one young Frenchman, who, although of high birth, distinguishes himself by violent democratic principles: he urged by way of defending Legendre, that he did not speak in his own name, but in that of the nation; that he represented *the majesty of the peuple souverain*. The company smiled; some of them were deputies, who, however expedient it might be to use this language in the tribune, did not expect to hear it in private society.—I ventured to repeat a story I had heard, of an English gentleman celebrated for wit, that, walking in the streets of London with a democratic acquaintance of his, who frequently used the expression *the majesty of the people*, they met a couple of chimney-sweeps; the gentleman took off his hat, and made them a very formal and low bow as they passed. His acquaintance asked what he meant—I was only shewing the respect, replied the other, which is due from every loyal subject to two princes of the blood.

This gentleman, it is probable, judged of their affinity merely from their external resemblance to the sovereign; but Legendre could boast of an affinity in more essential points, an unyielding firmness of heart, a decisive promptitude of execution, a disposition which, so far from being depressed, finds matter of mirth and pleasantry in scenes of horror, when they are thought necessary to promote the great cause: these are features of energy which have distinguished the peuple souverain since the beginning of the revolution, and in which Legendre bears a striking likeness to the monarch he was said to represent.

A deputation consisting of twelve members of the national assembly, among whom were Isnard and Vergniaud, at length arrived.—Isnard addressing himself to the people who filled the room, endeavoured to prevail on them to

always deceived us, you deceive us still; but take care what you are about, sir; the measure of our patience is full, and the people are tired of being your dupes.

withdraw, repeating frequently, that he would be answerable on his life that they should be satisfied.—This had little effect, the noise and exclamations of 'Rappellez les ministres! ôtez le veto!'* recommenced.

Vergniaud also spoke to the same purpose, and with as little success.

The noise and confusion continued till past five in the evening, when Petion arrived, accompanied by Sergeant, a municipal officer. Petion approaching the king said,—'Sire, I was only this moment informed of the situation in which you are.'

That is extraordinary, replied the king, for I have been in this situation above three hours.

Petion then standing on a chair advised the people to retire, ending his harangue with the following very curious expressions, which one who was present wrote a little after, and allowed me to copy.—'Citoyens, vous venez de faire entendre vos vœux au representant héréditaire, avec l'énergie et la dignité d'un peuple libre qui connoit ses droits. Le roi sait maintenant les intentions du *souverain*, et sans doute il y aura égard. Il convient que vous vous retiriez avec calme et décence, afin qu'on ne puisse pas calomnier vos intentions.'†

After this, the people at the mayor's repeated request began to withdraw:—when a second deputation from the national assembly arrived, one of the members of which addressed the king in a respectful manner, assuring him that each member was ready to present his body as a shield to cover his majesty's.

It could not escape the king, however, that he might have been cut in pieces three hours before the shields arrived.

* Recall the ministers, remove the veto.

† Citizens, you have now made your desires known to the hereditary representative, with that energy and dignity which becomes a free people who understand their rights. The king at present knows the intentions of the *sovereign*, and undoubtedly will pay a proper regard to them. You ought now to withdraw with calmness and decency, that your intentions may not be calumniated.

While these things were passing in the Œil de Beuf, the queen entered the council-chamber, attended by the prince and princess royal, by Madame de Lamballe, Mme. Tourzelle, Mme. de Makau, Mme. de Soucy. Her majesty shewed much uneasiness on account of the situation in which she had left the king, till the adjutant-general of the first legion of Parisian guards, with some soldiers, came and assured her that the king was in safety, and surrounded by faithful servants.

M. de Wittengoff, a general officer, entered the room, followed by a number of people of both sexes, among whom was a woman with a red cap in her hand. She presented the cap to Wittengoff, desiring him to give it to the queen to wear; adding, that she had just left the king, who at that moment had the cap of liberty on his head.

It would appear that the general did not think it expedient to reject the woman's proposal; which the queen perceiving, and being shocked at the idea of wearing the cap, said to Wittengoff,—'Vous voyez, monsieur, que ce bonnet ne peut aller sur ma tête:' she then put it on the head of the prince. This satisfied the woman and her followers.

Santerre entered the council-chamber soon after, followed by a new crowd, who having already seen the king, now demanded a sight of the queen, which Santerre had undertaken to procure them.—He required that those who stood immediately before her majesty should open to the right and left, that the people who followed him might have a full view of her and the rest of the royal family; which was done, Santerre *graciously* assuring the queen that she had nothing to apprehend from the people, who were *wonderfully good*, and only wished to be gratified with a sight of her as they walked out; and perceiving that the prince was heated with the cap, he added,—'Otez le bonnet à cet enfant.' *

Santerre's assurances, however, did not prevent some

* Take the cap from that child's head.

of the people, who were not quite so good as the rest, from insulting the queen, as they passed, with very abominable language.

The crowd having mostly retired, and the king having left the Œil de Beuf to go to what are called the petits apartemens, the princess Elizabeth was going to wait on the queen in the council-chamber, when a group of the mob which still lingered in the palace, mistaking her for the queen, began to insult her; on which one of the princess's attendants was going to undeceive them: but she with nobleness of mind prevented this, lest the people who were insulting her, being informed of their mistake, should have transferred their abuse to the unhappy queen.

It appeared from the witnesses examined on this business, that great pains had been taken with the inhabitants of St. Antoine, for a considerable time previous to the 20th of June, to work them up to this criminal measure: for it merits that epithet in a high degree, even although what is by no means clear were entirely admitted, namely, that no more was intended than to prevail on the king to recall the former ministers, and to remove the negative he had given to the two decrees; because, to prevail on the king by such means was open rebellion against the government, and ruinous to the constitution, and might have been attended with the immediate massacre of the royal family, and other dreadful consequences, all of which the promoters of this procession were answerable for.

The active and apparent promoters of it (for others are strongly suspected who were not sworn against by the witnesses) were, Santerre, at that time commander of the battalion of enfans trouvés, Legendre, Fournier an American, Rotondo an Italian, Buirette a glassmaker, Rosignol a goldsmith, Gonor who was called the conqueror of the Bastile, Brierre a wine-merchant, and St. Huruge, who rendered himself more notorious afterwards in the month of September, and Nicolas, sapeur or miner to the battali-

on which Santerre commanded. These men had frequent nightly meetings at the house of Santerre, where they drew up the motions that were to be made in the groups at the Tuilleries, the Palais-royal, the Place de Grève, and to the multitude which assembled in the Place de la Bastile. They sometimes met also in the chamber of the committee of the section of enfans trouvés, to compose placarts to be posted on the walls; and at those meetings Chabot had frequently made harangues, the tendency of which was to encourage the audience to promote the intended procession, which he assured them the national assembly expected, and would receive with satisfaction.

From the evidence it also appeared, 'that after coming from the national assembly, the people shewed no disposition to force their way into the palace, till Santerre, accompanied by Saint Huruge, came among them, and asked why they did not enter the palace, as it was for that purpose alone that they had assembled; and that it was in consequence of directions from Panis, and another municipal officer, that the gates of the Tuilleries had been broken open.'

In consequence of the proof of these facts, the council of the department of Paris decreed that the mayor and the procureur of the commune, who had been frequently advertised by the council of the intended procession, had not done what their duty required to prevent, but had rather countenanced it, and therefore should be suspended from the exercise of their offices; but this decree requiring the sanction of the king, his majesty wished to give no opinion nor decision on the subject, as he was personally concerned in it. He therefore referred the whole matter to the national assembly; but his enemies there being resolved to drive him to the disagreeable alternative of either disapproving of the decree of the council, or incurring the odium of being the immediate cause of suspending the popular mayor, had sufficient influence to get the assembly to refuse giving any opinion on the subject, until the king should confirm or annul the sentence of the council. His

majesty therefore confirmed the decree; which he had no sooner done, than the national assembly took the whole matter into their consideration, and reinstated the mayor and procureur in their offices.

From this time it was clear that the constitution was at an end; that a plan was formed for the destruction of royalty, and that the best measure the king could adopt was to attempt at any risk to remove himself and his family out of the reach of the mob of Paris. To this he was often pressed by his friends, who thought, that if he were even removed as far as Fontainebleau, there was such indignation in the minds of the most respectable citizens all over France at the scandalous transactions on the 20th of June, that they would have united against the anarchists of Paris, and given such force to the executive power, as, without injuring freedom, would have suppressed them, and prevented the dreadful disorders which have since taken place. But his majesty, probably deterred by the ill success of his flight to Varennes, could not be prevailed on to make a second attempt of the same nature.

Disgusted with a series of crimes which he could neither prevent nor punish, and finding that his presence in Paris was neither of use to his country nor to the king, the duke of Rochefoucauld withdrew from the capital to his villa in Normandy, from whence, on account of his health, he soon after went to the medicinal waters of Forges, where he was during the dreadful period of the massacres in September, and where a commissioner from the general council of the commune of Paris arrived with an order to arrest and conduct him to the capital. This commissioner was a man of more humanity than those usually employed by the council on similar occasions; he readily agreed to the proposal of accompanying the duke in the first place to his own house at Roche-Guyon, with a view that the agitation which existed at Paris might have time to subside before he should arrive, and in the hopes that the duke's friends might be able to have the order recalled.—In company with Mr. de la Rochefoucauld were the duchesse D'-

Anville his mother, and the duchess his wife. On the road between Forges and Roche-Guyon, they stopped at Gisors: during this period, most unfortunately a battalion of national guards arrived, among whom some of the Paris assassins, as is suspected, were mixed.

These villains immediately shewed a disposition to murder the duke, who, being more solicitous for the safety of his mother and his wife than for his own, and fearing that they might be injured or insulted if he remained with them, he persuaded them to go on. The duke himself afterwards walked to his carriage under the protection of the mayor of Gisors, the commissioner, and some of the national guards; but he was, notwithstanding, followed by the assassins loading him all the way with abusive language, till one of them having found means of coming very near the duke, threw a stone with such force that, striking him on the temple, it killed him on the spot, and some of the wretches immediately, on seeing him fall, cried, 'Vive la nation!'

The French nation is disgraced by such an exclamation on such an occasion; and, were I not convinced that the majority detest the actions and sicken at the exclamations of such wretches, I should join in sentiment with those who wish it washed from the surface of the globe.

October 24.

In a conversation which I had this day with a member of the convention, I delivered my sentiments pretty freely upon the subject of the murder of Mr. de la Rochefoucauld, and some similar events which have taken place of late in France: he expressed the utmost horror at them, but added, that scenes of the same kind had been acted in every country of Europe in times of revolution and dissension, when great interests were at stake, and when the human passions were inflamed and agitated in the highest degree. He mentioned certain barbarous cruelties which had been committed, on both sides, during the contest between the white rose and the red in England: he enlar-

ged on the massacre in Ireland in the reign of Charles I, and on the perfidious affair of Glenco in Scotland in the reign of King William. He added that, every thing considered, perhaps it belonged less to one of my nation than of any other, to complain of the excesses of revolutions or civil dissensions; and with a smile he quoted from Juvenal,—

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

I did not choose to push the argument farther, although with respect to the reciprocal cruelties which were committed during the contest between the white rose and the red, the remark was obvious, that what a nation had done during an age of barbarism and superstition, is not to be compared with that of another in the days of knowledge and refinement—and perhaps it would not be difficult to shew that the barbarities he enumerated, which had been committed in Great Britain and Ireland, were equalled by those committed in France at the same periods; in which case, there has been such an accumulation here of late, that, on comparing accounts, a most dreadful balance of horrors would remain with this country.

I find some people believe, or pretend to believe, that the murder of the duke of Rochefoucauld was the accidental effect of the sudden phrensy of a few volunteers; but many circumstances do not admit of that opinion. The magistrates of Gisors, although they wished to protect the duke, did not seize and punish his assassins; which looks as if they suspected that the assassins acted under the direction of some men whose enmity the magistrates were afraid of incurring: and when we recollect that the duke's conduct, immediately before and after the 20th of June, was highly offensive to those who spirited up the shameful insurrection of that day; when we recollect the characters of some of them who were afterwards members of the new-formed council of the commune de Paris, and the orders for arrest which they issued previous to the 2d of September; it will seem much more probable that the death of the duke of Rochefoucauld pro-

ceeded from instructions from some of *them*, than from a sudden impulse of the actual murderers.

If any thing could render this crime more atrocious, it would be, that a man who lies under the highest obligations to the duke, was the planner of his assassination. This idea has been propagated notwithstanding its enormity, and perhaps is circulated the more on that very account; for the minds of some people are peculiarly attached to the wonderful, and they are so fond of repeating what creates the greatest emotion, of whatever nature that emotion is, that the very circumstance which renders a story less credible, is an inducement for one set of people to repeat it, and another to believe it. Much stronger presumptive proof than any I have heard, is necessary to induce me to think any man capable of such aggravated wickedness, particularly if the pursuits of his life have been of a nature to humanize the heart as well as to enlighten the understanding, and if the fact can be fully accounted for, without supposing him to have had any direct or indirect hand in it.

October 26.

The party which is formed against Roland and the Girondists * manifest already as much enmity to them as the same party did to the court for turning Roland out of office. What renders them very formidable is the influ-

* Vergniaud, Gensonné, Guadet, and some others distinguished for their talents, are deputies from the department of Gironde, and support Roland; many others have joined them, and the whole are called Girondists or Rolandists; and Marat, who has a determined hatred to Brissot, sometimes calls them in his journal Brissotins, and the whole class Roland-Brissotins. Although Condorcet is of more eminence in the literary world than any I have enumerated as the friends of Roland, I have not mentioned him, because his conduct of late is thought equivocal; it is not quite clear whether he means to attach himself to Roland or Danton.

Barrere, deputy from the department of the High Pyrenées, who was a member of the constituent assembly without being much distinguished, begins to be thought of more importance in the convention: he has not hitherto taken a decided part with either party, but I am told, he is courted by both.

ence their leaders have in the Jacobin society, which begins to murmur against Roland and all his friends. To Brissot they shew such peculiar dislike, that he was lately expelled from the society: he probably obtained this distinction on account of some paragraphs which have lately appeared in the daily paper supposed to be conducted by him. Marat is there treated with a contempt which may be due to his talents, but which it is not prudent to shew for a man who is still a favourite of the rabble, and has some of the most desperate of them under his direction. In the same paper Danton is glanced at with severity, and Robespierre is turned into ridicule, in a manner that would not be readily forgiven by a man of a less implacable disposition.

Brissot is a little man, of an intelligent countenance, but of a weakly frame of body.

While many of the deputies, even those who are no way obnoxious to the violent party, carry pocket-pistols, or canes which contain swords; Brissot walks through the streets, at all hours, without so much as a switch in his hand.

An acquaintance of his told me that he had spoken of this to him as a piece of great imprudence, considering the number of his enemies, many of whom he thought capable of assassination. To this remonstrance Brissot answered with a careless air,—'S'ils sont décidés à m'assassiner, ils en trouveroint aisément le moyen de quelque maniere que je fusse armé : d'ailleurs je suis d'une constitution si foible, que ne pouvant faire qu'une triste défense, je préférerois l'honneur de n'en point faire du tout.' *

But timidity is not to be placed among this man's failings, nor prudence among his virtues.

If Brissot is too little affected by the rancour of his enemies, Roland shews too much sensibility to the attacks

* If they are determined to assassinate me, they will find the means whatever arms I may carry: besides, I am of so feeble constitution, that conscious of being unable to make a good resistance, I think it more honourable to make none.

which are made on him, and this is one reason perhaps for their being continued with such spirit and perseverance. Insinuations tending to render him unpopular, not only appear in certain daily journals, but accusations against him are sometimes pasted on the walls. He alludes to these rather too often in his addresses to the convention, which are sometimes thought laboured and pompous. While one of this kind was reading in the assembly, I heard one of the deputies say peevishly,—'Cet homme prétend nous governer par des phrases.'* Another, shrugging up his shouldiers, said,—'Il ne cherche qu'à faire admirer la beauté de son style.'† To which the member who sat next him replied,—'Aussi y reussit-il quelquefois avec l'aide de sa femme.'‡

The tendency of these addresses and letters generally is, after exculpating himself from the charges above mentioned, to prove the necessity of order and submission to law.

But if a minister takes the trouble of answering, in the national assembly, all anonymous accusations made against him, neither he nor the assembly will be able to do any other business; and if he has no other means of producing order and submission to law than by speeches and addresses, there is no probability of their being produced soon.

Some of these compositions however are very good in themselves.

Sed nunc non erat his locus.

—Can it be thought that the men who stormed the king's palace, or those who instigated to the massacres, will be moved from their designs by eloquence or argument?

At the head of the party in opposition to Roland are Danton and Robespierre; after them are Couthon, Bazire, Thuriot, Merlin de Thionville, St. André, Camille Des-

* This man thinks to govern us by fine sentences.

† His only object is to make us admire the beauty of his style.

‡ In which he sometimes succeeds, with the assistance of his wife.

moulins, Chabot, Collot d'Herbois, Sergent, Legendre, Fabre d'Eglantine, Panis, Marat.

Robespierre is a man of small size, and a disagreeable countenance, which announces more fire than understanding; in his calmest moments, he conceals with difficulty the hatred and malignity which are said to exist in his heart, and which his features are admirably formed to express. He distinguished himself in the constituent assembly by the violence of his speeches, and much more since, in the Jacobin society, by the violence of his measures. His eloquence is employed in invectives against tyrants and aristocrates, and in declamations in praise of liberty. His speeches are barren in argument, but sometimes fertile in the flowers of fancy.

Robespierre is considered as an enthusiast rather than a hypocrite: some people think him both, which is not without example; but, to me, he seems to be too much of the first to be a great deal of the second.

He has always refused every office of emolument: his passion is popularity, not avarice; and he is allowed, even by those who detest many parts of his character, and are his enemies, to be incorruptible by money.

Roland is not supposed to possess all the energy of character that belongs to Danton; in many other respects they differ. Roland is believed to be a thorough republican: Danton, it is thought, does not lay much stress on the form of government, and would have no objection to monarchy, provided the monarch were a creature of his own; for I do not find that it is suspected that he aspires to reign in person.

Roland and Danton were often in opposition with each other when joined in the same administration. Roland struggled with all his might against the usurpations of the general council of the commune of Paris after the 10th of August: Danton favoured and abetted them. Roland exclaimed against the massacres in September, did every thing he could to put an end to them, and on that account was himself in imminent danger: Danton, though he was

then minister of justice, is accused of having been criminally passive on that very pressing occasion. Roland uses his whole influence to bring the authors of those savage scenes to justice: Danton uses his to stifle all investigation of that nature.

In external appearance and manner, those two men differ as in all the rest; Roland is about sixty years of age, tall, thin, of a mild countenance and pale complexion. His dress, every time I have seen him, has been the same, a drab-coloured suit lined with green silk, his grey hair hanging loose.

Danton is not so tall, but much broader than Roland; his form is coarse, and uncommonly robust: Roland's manner is unassuming and modest—that of Danton fierce and boisterous; he speaks with the voice of a stentor, declaims on the blessings of freedom with the arrogance of a tyrant, and invites to union and friendship with the frown of an enemy.

He must be sensible of the infinite importance of internal union, of strengthening the executive power, and overawing the factious at the present crisis. These might possibly avert some of the evils that threaten his country, and tend to the happiness of twenty-four millions of human creatures. But what must then become of Danton? He would dwindle in point of importance, and share only the proportion of an individual in the general prosperity.

In the comprehensive vortex of this extraordinary revolution, this man, originally placed in the lower ranks of life, has been whirled so near the summit as to have the chief direction of government within his hope—he thinks himself, no doubt, better qualified for that office than those who, according to the present system, are likely to retain it; and if his hopes should be accomplished, he perhaps has it in speculation to promote the aggrandisement of his country, and would exert himself for that purpose as long as it went hand in hand with his own. But if the gratification of his own ambition is to be had at no other price than the sacrifice of his country's good,

he will not refuse the purchase. This, no doubt, will be thought very profligate; yet, in this, perhaps, Danton differs less from other statesmen than in some other features of his character.

A person who is thought to be well acquainted with the characters of the leading deputies of both parties, and capable of forming a just judgment of their views, lately hinted to me, that there was a probability that Danton and his friends would overset their opponents.

'I thought that Roland had the majority of the members of the convention with him?' said I.

'The majority of the members, if left to follow the dictates of their consciences,' resumed he, 'are certainly inclined to support Roland; but Danton may fall on means which have been found efficacious in removing scruples of conscience.'

'I had no idea of his being so very rich. Where will he find the money?' said I.

'Money, it must be confessed, is the readiest and most effectual,' replied he, smiling, 'but not only the means—Danton makes use of it the least; he has it not always at his command; for what he does use on pressing occasions belongs to another.'

'What other means has he?'

'Why, eloquence,' rejoined he. 'Do you count that for nothing in your national assembly? I can assure you it has considerable weight in ours; and Danton may pour it forth with profusion, having at command not only his own noisy torrents, but also the popular stream which flows from the lips of Robespierre.'

'Will not the effect of their eloquence,' I resumed, 'be greatly overbalanced by that of Vergniaud, Buzot, and other friends of Roland?'

'Perhaps it may,' said he; 'but the ally on whom Danton has the greatest reliance has not been yet mentioned.'

'Who is he?'

'Terror! Terror!' repeated he, 'who has acted so

important a part since the beginning of this revolution. Do you not think that his gigantic form stalks sometimes before the eyes of the deputies? Do you imagine that their sleep is never disturbed with the visions of heads carried on pikes, of murdered prisoners, and the mangled bodies of those victims of cowardly revenge, Brissac, Montmorin, Delessart, and Rochefoucauld?'

'I should imagine,' said I, 'that such visions would rather disturb the consciences of Danton and some of his friends?'

'They have none,' rejoined he; 'and Danton seems to have nearly as little fear as conscience.'

He then told me, that he was convinced that Danton's plan was to terrify a majority of the deputies into his measures, by means of the rabble of the suburbs, which he expects to have at his disposal, through Chabot, Marat, and other emissaries and tried conductors; in which view the sections of Paris were prevailed on to present the address already mentioned, to the assembly, which it is believed was drawn up by Danton himself.

His emissaries, I have been since told, are very active in circulating every report that they conceive can render Roland and his friends, particularly the Girondists, odious in the eyes of the people. As many of this party are republicans, and were abused by their enemies on that account, when such sentiments were not so popular as they are at present, it was not to be imagined that they would now be accused of being royalists; but as this is the heaviest charge that can be brought against any set of men, the same persons who formerly accused them of being republicans, without any regard to consistency, and trusting to the absurd credulity of the multitude, now accuse them of being royalists,—and not entirely without effect.

The friends of Roland brought to Paris the battalion of Marseillois, which arrived lately, and unquestionably with no other view than to serve as a check to the sans-culottes of the suburbs, who are at the command of Danton: their

address, which was read in the convention, is thought to be the composition of Barbaroux.

Monsieur Egalité is at present seldom heard of: he appears, however, almost every day in the assembly; he generally stays about half an hour, seems to interest himself little in what is going on, and to interest the assembly as little. It has been said that a weak or wrong-headed man of very high rank, or in an eminent situation in life, is like a man on the top of a steeple, from whence all the world seem *little* to him, and where he seems *little* in the eyes of the world.—Whether M. Egalité, when in his original elevated situation, regarded mankind, or was regarded by them, in this light, I will not say; but he certainly has been at great pains and expense to bring himself low enough to be seen or estimated at his just value by all the world.

October 27.

According to a late decree, all emigrants who are taken in arms are to be tried by a court-martial, and executed where they are taken. Notwithstanding this decree, thirteen were lately conducted to Paris. They were the same whom Ruhl had passed on the road, as was mentioned above. When they came near Paris, new fears were expressed in the convention, of their danger of being massacred in the streets.

If there is really any danger of such an event, the inhabitants of Paris must be the worst of savages: but the only people I see of a savage disposition, are certain members of the convention, and of the Jacobin club, and a great majority of those who fill the tribunes of both those assemblies; but the shopkeepers and tradespeople (and I take some pains to be acquainted with their way of thinking) seem to be much the same as I have always known them; and I am persuaded that there is no risk of massacres or assassinations, but from a set of wretches who are neither shopkeepers nor tradesmen, but idle vaga-

bonds hired and excited for the purpose.—When I hear it asserted from the tribune of the convention, or of the Jacobin society, that the people are impatient for the death of the king, or inclined to murder unfortunate men while they are conducted to prison, and yet can perceive no disposition of that nature among the citizens, I cannot help suspecting that those orators themselves are the people who are impatient for those atrocities, and that they spread the notion that this desire is general among the people, on purpose to render it easier to commit them, and to make them more quietly submitted to, after they have been committed.

I remember, that for several days before the 2d of September, frequent mention was made of the unaccountable delays of the courts of justice with regard to the trial of the prisoners.—Certain members of the national assembly threw out hints of the people's impatience on that account; and I heard a man at the Jacobins threaten, that if the sword of justice was withheld much longer, the people would exercise it themselves; and yet, at that time, I could perceive no signs of such a disposition among the citizens of Paris.

The dreadful scenes in September began—the citizens were struck with terror—they repeated to each other,—'We often heard that the people would be driven to this!' Each of them believed that all the city had risen against the prisoners, except the quarter which he himself inhabited, and from which his anxiety for his family made him afraid to move.—They were told that all who spoke in favour of the prisoners were massacred by the people, and that many suspected persons were taken up in the streets.' By these means the citizens of Paris remained panic-struck, while a handful of villains, in their name, committed the most shocking enormities.

Reflecting on this, naturally creates a suspicion that something of the same nature is intended by the same means with respect to the king. It is expected, perhaps, that by dint of repeatedly asserting that the people in ge-

judge might pronounce sentence in the supposed case to the following effect.—'There is a wide difference between the crimes of these two men, and so there shall be in their punishments. The one must be hanged as an accomplice of the incendiaries; and as for the other who jumped out of the window, he ought to have been ashamed ever to have shewn his face; and if he had staid out of the way and never appeared, I acknowledge it would be unjust to hang him: but since he is taken, that alters the case; he merits now to be hanged, and I sentence him to that punishment accordingly; but observe, it is not for jumping out of the window, but for the aggravating circumstance of being taken.'

By this absurd and iniquitous decree, many women are punished for that timidity which is natural to the sex; and many men are ruined in their fortunes, and reduced to absolute want, whose only view in emigrating was to save their lives, not from the sword of justice, but from the poniards of assassins.

That two parties in a state who are contending for the conduct of government, should dislike each other, is common; but that rancorous degree to which it is arrived in France is beyond any thing of the same kind that I ever knew in England, and, I should hope, for the credit of mankind, beyond any thing ever known before in any other country. I made this observation to a gentleman who pretends to know the French thoroughly. —'The French,' said he, 'have been accused of being very inconstant *lovers*; I know nothing of that; but I do assure you,' continued he, playing on an expression recorded of Dr. Johnson, 'that they are very sincere and constant *haters*.'

In confirmation of this observation, I perceive every day the strongest marks of violent hatred between the leaders of the two opposite parties. They seem to agree in nothing but in a mutual hatred against the unfortunate emigrants, which however does not in the least degree diminish their reciprocal hatred: and I am told, that

the same hatred prevails among the emigrants themselves in all the different countries of Europe; that those who emigrated at one period of the revolution hate those who emigrated at another, as cordially as all of them have very good reason to hate the men who form this convention, and are passing such severe decrees against them.

October 26.

Marat has carried his calumnies such a length, that even the party which he wishes to support seem to be ashamed of him; and he is shunned and apparently detested by every body else. When he enters the hall of the assembly, he is avoided on all sides: and when he seats himself, those near him generally rise and change their places. He stood a considerable time yesterday near the tribune, watching an opportunity to speak. I saw him at one time address himself to Louvet; and, in doing so, he attempted to lay his hand on Louvet's shoulder, who instantly started back with looks of aversion, as one would do from the touch of a noxious reptile, exclaiming, '*Ne me touchez pas!*'

Nothing can disconcert Marat; he persevered in soliciting the privilege of being heard *pour un fait.** The assembly shewed the greatest unwillingness to hear him: he exclaimed that it was *un fait qui intéressoit le salut public.*†

They were at last under the necessity of hearing him; he elevated his head as usual when he speaks from the tribune, surveyed the audience with composure and audacity, and in a hollow voice and with solemnity of cadence said,—'It is not the citizen who now addresses you, that provokes to murder, or puts public freedom in danger, but those in office, men who make use of their authority to oppress the people; *they* are the tyrants, who, under the pretence of maintaining the tranquillity of Pa-

* For a fact.

† A fact regarding the public safety.

ris, arrest and murder the most innocent and meritorious citizens.' He then accused Roland of having given orders for arresting an excellent patriot whom he named.

This turned out to be entirely a misrepresentation; but before Marat descended from the tribune, Barbaroux informed the assembly that Marat had paid a visit at the barracks of the battalion of Marseillois lately arrived; that, at sight of their accommodations, he had lamented that so many brave sans-culottes were so ill lodged, while a regiment of dragoons, composed of ancient valet-de-chambres and coachmen of the nobility, with a mixture of the king's gardes-du-corps, all anti-revolutionists, were superbly quartered in the Ecole Militaire: that he had insinuated many things tending to raise a jealousy between the Marseillois and this regiment of dragoons; and had hinted that it was owing to the convention that the former were so ungratefully treated; and that he had invited some of them to breakfast with him.

It was evident that Marat's design in this was to have seduced the Marseillois from those who had engaged them to come to Paris, to attach them to his own party, and to engage them, instead of opposing the turbulent behaviour of the mob of St. Antoine, to act with them as their townsmen did on the 10th of August.

The Marseillois however refused his invitation. But Barbaroux's narrative occasioned a violent outcry in the assembly against Marat; the epithets *scélérat*, *assassin*, were often repeated, and one member said that Marat had lately been heard to declare that there would be no tranquillity in the state till two hundred and sixty-eight heads were cut off.

'I am the person,' cried another member, 'who heard him say so.'

I threw my eyes on Marat, to observe how he would look on hearing such an accusation.

'Very well,' said Marat; 'I did say so, and it is my opinion.'

I should have thought I had mistaken, or heard in-

distinctly, if he had not resumed,—' I repeat it,' said Marat: ' That is my opinion; you will not pretend that men are to be punished for their opinions; and as for the silly story of Barbaroux,' continued he, ' it is a malignant misconstruction of my patriotic civilities and hospitality to the Marseillois. What then does the whole of this mighty business amount to? why, that I said, you would not enjoy peace or tranquillity till the oppressors of the people lost their heads, of whom there are two hundred and sixty eight at the most moderate calculation. I am also accused of having shewn more attention to the battalion just arrived from Marseilles, than any other member of the convention.—If these are crimes,' added he, sweeping the edge of his right hand across his throat, ' égorgez-moi!'

This new denunciation against Marat was transmitted to the same committee who have the former under their consideration; and Marat's accusation of Roland was considered as invidious, and an attempt to obstruct the course of justice.

I have never heard of any other of his good qualities —but this man certainly possesses a great deal of courage both personal and political: no danger can terrify him, no detection can disconcert him; his heart, as well as his forehead, seems to be of brass.

October 29.

I was present when Ruhl of Strasbourg, whom I formerly mentioned, informed the convention, that being in the commission for examining certain letters in the German language, which had been intercepted, he had found one from a corporal in the Prussian army to his wife in Silesia. In this letter he said there were many expressions of conjugal love and parental affection, while in the same letter the French were painted in the blackest colours. ' This poor corporal,' continued Ruhl, ' has had the perseverance and generosity to save two ducats out of his pay, which he inclosed in the letter to his

wife, who, it appears, was then in childbed. I desire to be authorized to transmit the money, with what addition I please, to this honest corporal's wife, with a letter assuring her that the French do not deserve all the ill names which her husband gives them.'

Ruhl is a man about seventy years of age; there is a great appearance of naiveté in his manner. I happened to mention this story of the corporal to a Frenchman of my acquaintance,—'Le conte est beau,' said he, 'il n'y manque que la vraisemblance pour le rendre intéressant.' *

'He had the letter in his hand,' said I; 'how can you doubt it?'

'If he had twenty letters,' replied the Frenchman, 'I must doubt it, because a Prussian corporal is generous in nothing but in *coups de batons;* and it is not in the nature of a man who is distributing these from morning to night to have tender affections of any kind.—Such opposite and discordant qualities cannot inhabit the same breast.'

The incredulity of my French acquaintance I think unreasonable; and I will here insert an anecdote, although it is much more exposed to his criticism, because it comes from a quarter which leaves no doubt on my mind of its truth.

Monsieur de Bertrand, chevalier de Malte, and brother to Monsieur de Bertrand de Moleville late minister of the marine, was arrested and confined in the prison of the Abbaye, soon after the 10th of August. This gentleman was brought at midnight on the 3d of September before the dreadful tribunal in that prison. He is a man of great coolness and firmness of mind, which was of infinite service to him in this emergency; for although the symptoms of fear ought not on such occasions to have been considered as a presumption of guilt, yet that construction was put on them by the judges, and, without

* The tale is agreeable, and only needs probability to make it interesting.

any other presumption, they sometimes proved fatal to the prisoner.

When Mr. Bertrand was questioned, he answered with an undisturbed voice and countenance,—'that he had not the least idea of what he had been arrested for; that those who arrested him could not inform him; that nobody had informed him since, and that he was convinced he had been taken up by mistake.'

Struck with the cool and undaunted manner in which he addressed them, and having no particular accusation nor proof of any kind against him, the judges ordered him to be released.

Two men covered with blood, who had been employed in killing the prisoners, and attended in the expectation of the signal for dispatching Mr Bertrand, seemed surprised but not displeased at the unusual order. They conducted him through the court of the Abbaye, and on the way asked if he had any relation to whose house he wished to go.

He answered, that he had a sister-in-law to whom he intended to go directly.

'How very much surprised and delighted must she be to see you!' said they.

'I am persuaded she will,' replied Mr. Bertrand.

One of the men then asked the other if he should not be glad to be present at this meeting; to which he eagerly said he should: and both declared they had a curiosity to be witnesses to the joyful meeting between Mr. Bertrand and his sister-in-law.

The gentleman was astonished and embarrassed: he represented, 'that his relation being a delicate woman, their appearance might very much alarm her, particularly at such an unseasonable hour; that he could not think of giving them such unnecessary trouble;' and added whatever he thought would divert them from so unexpected a proposal.

They urged that they would wait in the parlour till he had advertised the lady of their being in the house, to

prevent her being alarmed; that so far from being a trouble, it would give them great pleasure to accompany him; that they wished to have a relaxation from the work in which they had been so long employed, and they hoped he would not deny them the satisfaction of seeing the meeting between him and his friends.

Mr. Bertrand did not think it prudent to refuse such petitioners any longer; he therefore assented—they accompanied him to the house. He sent the servant, who opened the door at the sound of his voice, to advertise the lady that he was arrived, and well. He afterwards went himself and informed her of the strange fancy of the two men, who waited in another room. The lady had arisen and dressed herself hastily on her first hearing of his arrival: every body in the family had done the same, and had flocked around him with expressions of joy. The two men were admitted, and were witnesses to the happiness that all manifested: they seemed much gratified and affected at the sight; it formed the strongest contrast with those they had so lately seen. Mr. Bertrand offered them money, which they would on no account accept, declaring that they were already paid for accompanying him in the only way they desired. After remaining a considerable time, they took their leave, wishing the lady all happiness, and thanking Mr. Bertrand for allowing them the pleasure of being witnesses to so pleasing a meeting.

Nobody can be more aware than I am of the inconsistency which from this narrative appears in the dispositions of the same individuals. That two men so unfeeling as to be actively engaged in the remorseless scenes at the prison should have the sensibility to wish to be witnesses of the meeting between Mr. Bertrand and his friends, and behave on the whole as those two men did, is what no person, who has studied the usual analogies and combinations of the human dispositions, would have expected. The first turn of mind seems incompatible with the second: I know no theory by which they can be recon-

ciled; I attempt no explanation: I repeat the facts as I have them from authority to which I cannot refuse my belief, and because they form a new instance of the astonishing variety, and even opposition of character to be found in that wonderful creature, MAN.

October 30.

Part of the equipage of the French princes was seized during the retreat of the duke of Brunswick's army, amongst which was found a pocket-book belonging to *Monsieur* the king's brother. Several packets of letters forming a considerable correspondence on various subjects, between the emigrants and their friends, were also found at Verdun and Longwy by Kellermann's army. All those papers have been transmitted to the convention, and by it submitted to the examination of a committee.

Most of the letters, I am told, are of a private nature, and no way relative to what concerns the state or the public in general. It would be highly unbecoming, therefore, in the convention to order those to be published, which can have no other effect than to gratify the spirit of hatred, envy, and slander, and create discord and jealousy among families and acquaintance. It is likewise said, that important discoveries have been made by some of these letters, and that they form a complete proof of an intelligence between the king and his brothers, for the ruin of the constitution.* In support of this assertion, a letter was this day read in the assembly, said to have been found in the pocket-book above mentioned. The letter is from the marquis of Toulongeon, lieutenant-general in the French army of the king's brothers: it unfolds certain measures he had taken for arranging the troops in such a manner as to facilitate their desertion to the Austrians; gives the reason why he had not gone himself to join the princes at Coblentz; adds, that he is of more use

* This *complete* proof, I make no doubt, will be of the nature of the proofs already published, which are also called complete, but to every candid mind must appear very deficient.

to their cause by retaining a command in the French army; that the motives of his conduct are known to the emperor, and approved of by the king, &c.

A decree of accusation immediately passed against Toulongeon, who, fortunately for him, however, has already made his escape: and after the passing of this decree, a member expressed his surprise, that among so many decrees of accusation as had been passed, they had not yet pronounced the most important of all, namely, one against the king.

On which Maille, who is of the committee of legislation, said, that the process of the king required the greatest solemnity, not because there was any difficulty in proving his guilt, nor to demonstrate it to the French nation, who were already convinced, but to satisfy and give a great example to all Europe, and to avoid the errors which the English had committed in not observing all the necessary solemnities in the trial of Charles I, for which they were censured by many historians, and justified by none.

In answer to this, Ruhl observed, that the English nation had been justified for the sentence passed on Charles Stuart by a writer of greater genius than all the historians who ever have written on the subject, namely, John Milton, author of Paradise Lost.

Hitherto I had considered Ruhl in a favourable light; there is something natural in his manner, and I thought him a man of humanity; but one of that disposition would hardly have made such an observation at this particular time in the convention.

October 31.

The trial of Charles I of England, translated into French from the state trials, is to be found of late on all the booksellers tables around the hall of the convention. An abridgement of the same is cried by the hawkers of pamphlets in the Palais Royal and the various entries to the national assembly; the conversation is now greatly turned

to that subject, and to the expected process of Lewis XVI. I never believed, however, that there was a serious intention in the convention to bring the king to trial, and still less did I think it probable that it would be in their contemplation to bring him to the scaffold; an idea which I cannot entertain without horror. Besides, however devoid of principle some of them may be, I could not conceive that they would commit such an act of cruelty and injustice, without any of the motives which incite wicked men to deeds of such atrocity. Their personal interest evidently dictates the preservation of the king's life, and it seemed unlikely that any member of the convention, one only excepted, could be actuated by personal enmity; they are almost all of the middle or inferior ranks of life; none of them have ever had opportunities for that kind of intercourse with the king, which usually generates either personal friendship or hatred: they may like or dislike, respect or despise his general conduct and character; but I could see none of the usual sources of personal hatred either good or bad, especially as, with respect to the exercise of authority, the whole reign of Lewis XVI has been a reign of moderation. He has always manifested a desire to meet the wishes of his subjects; and perhaps his aversion to every measure which had the appearance of being violent, with too great a disposition to *grant*, has deprived him of the power of *refusing*, and reduced him to the state he is in.—I am persuaded that none of his ancestors had so just a claim to the epithets which the public and historians have affixed to their names, as the unfortunate Lewis XVI has to that of *Louis le trop bon.*

I have excepted one person, to whom the preceding reasoning does not fully apply, and who may be supposed to be instigated by hatred or revenge; but allowing this to be the case, from all I have observed or heard since I have been in this country, there is reason to think that his influence is infinitely too small to engage either party in measures of which they disapprove.

These considerations were sufficient hitherto to induce

me to believe that there was no serious intention in the convention to bring the king to trial.—But I now begin to fear that a process in some shape or other will very soon be brought on; and when once begun, there is no knowing what may be the issue in a town so much in the power of the populace, and of *such* a populace as that which Paris contains at present.

I am led to this alteration of opinion from having very lately heard a number of citizens, whom I thought of a different opinion, declare their conviction that the king was betraying the country. The rancorous activity of his enemies has at length persuaded them, that, instead of another Henry IV, between whom and Lewis XVI they formerly found a resemblance, they actually had another Lewis XI or Charles IX on the throne.

Besides, whether the king ought or ought not to be judged, is not merely considered as a matter of justice or even of expediency, but, most unfortunately, it has become a party question, in which passion may have more weight than either. Danton's party knows that the Girondists wish to save the king; which is reason sufficient with the former to do every thing in their power to promote his trial and condemnation, and to represent the opposition of the other party as a proof of their being aristocrates and royalists in their hearts.

Marat, who is the great agent of Danton and Robespierre, declares that it is highly unjust, and would be a shameful deviation from the flattering tenet of égalité, after having condemned M. de la Porte and other inferior criminals, to pass over the greatest criminal of all.

Finally, I have been impressed with fears respecting the fate of the king from a variety of circumstances, too minute to be mentioned, which have struck me very lately. It is certainly horrid and disgraceful to human nature; but I am afraid that the populace of this city have heard so much of a grand example that ought to be exhibited to Europe, and their imaginations have dwelt so long on the idea of a king being tried for his life, and af-

terwards led to execution, that they cannot with patience bear the thoughts of being disappointed of such an extraordinary spectacle.

November 1.

When Roland and his friends were attacked by so active and so virulent an opposition, it was not to be expected that they could escape an accusation so easy to make, and so difficult to refute, as that they were not actuated by the genuine principles of patriotism, but merely by selfish motives, and that they had no other object in view than to retain the lucrative offices of the state in their own hands.

To stifle the voice of slander at once, upon this subject, Gensonné surprised the convention lately by a speech in which he lamented that a party-spirit had manifested itself so strongly among them. He added that diffidence in each other, the natural effect of the numerous treasons which have lately been discovered, also prevailed to an alarming degree; which, joined to the envy which generates hatred, and produces division, might enable despotism to arise again out of anarchy: he added, that the present times required a great example of self-denial to dry up one great source of party-spirit, silence calumny, and prove to the world that they had not made war on royalty on purpose to divide the regal spoils among themselves, but to obtain freedom to their country.—He therefore moved that it should be decreed that no member of the convention should be capable of enjoying any office in the government for ten years after the decree had passed.

All the members, as if with one voice, called out, Yes, yes: they sprung from their seats, in a fit of enthusiasm, and demanded that the proposal of Gensonné should be instantly decreed; which was done accordingly.

This practice of passing decrees the instant they are proposed, without reflection, may be attended with the worst consequences; as for this decree in particular, it strikes so directly against the views of the leading men of both parties, and is liable, in other respects, to so many

weighty objections, that I suspect it will not be long in force even in France; but if it should, it may afford comfort to the minds of Englishmen at this awful period, when there is a just dread of the prevalence of French manners and French opinions, to reflect that there is too much solid good sense in the British parliament to adopt so foolish a measure.

November 2.

A most unrelenting spirit against the emigrants appears as often as they are mentioned in the conventional assembly.—I spoke of this to one of the deputies this evening, expressing my surprise that no member ever said any thing in their favour, although I could hardly imagine but that, in so large an assembly, many of the members had relations or friends among them.

In answer to my observation the deputy said, that the greater part of the emigrants were noblesse, of which class very few are members of the convention, so that there is little or no connection by blood, and as little by friendship, between the deputies and emigrants. I take it for granted, added he, that you do not think any measure too severe for those emigrants who have taken arms against their country; and as for those who do not appear in arms, it is well known that they are doing every thing in their power to excite every nation in Europe, particularly the English, against France; and if they succeed, and produce a counter-revolution, there is no doubt but these emigrants will exercise still greater cruelties against the patriots.

I replied, that the assembly had saved the emigrants the trouble of exciting war, by declaring it first; for that no nation had declared war against France hitherto till France declared war against it; that with respect to England, I imagined that whether she should enter into a war with France or not, would depend on the conduct of the convention, and not on any thing the emigrants could say or do; and finally, that if men were to act cruelly towards those whose persons or property were in their power, on a

supposition that, if the situations were reversed, those whom they oppress would oppress them, in that case there would be nothing but oppression and cruelty in the world.

I then mentioned the case of one person who had emigrated in very particular circumstances, and had returned to France soon after, stating the case in the strongest and most favourable light, which I corroborated with documents that I had in my possession. Other deputies joined us, to whom I also mentioned this case; and one of them taking me aside, assured me he saw it in the same point of view that I did, and that he would do what he could to serve the person in question, which, notwithstanding the favourable circumstances, must be attempted with delicacy, because such a hatred prevailed in the convention against all emigrants, and such a jealousy of each other, that whoever seemed active or zealous in their favour had a greater probability of injuring himself, than of serving them. You will readily believe, added he, how difficult it is to procure any thing like favour to one who is both a noble and an emigrant, at a period when those nobles who never emigrated, but on the contrary have taken an active part in the revolution, are looked on with distrustful and jealous eyes.—He then gave me directions how to proceed, and told me to whom, and in what manner to apply.—I have followed his advice, and with the best hopes of success.

In the gratification of this hatred to the emigrants, as in many other instances, the convention oversteps good policy.

General Custine has transmitted letters to the convention, which have been addressed to him from emigrants in foreign services, who now wish to serve their country, provided they may be allowed to return with safety.

General Biron has likewise written to the convention in favour of some officers who have been in the army of the prince of Condé, and now implore forgiveness, and the general's mediation with the assembly, that they may be permitted to return to France.

In both cases the convention passed to the order of the day—yet as Biron is at present a very popular general, and as Custine has just taken posession of Frankfort, and has been always successful, it might have been expected that more attention would have been paid to their applications.

Besides, at this moment of success, lenient and conciliatory measures towards those unfortunate people who left their country at a time when, assuredly, there were many reasons for leaving it, would appear generous to all Europe; it would please the numerous relations and friends of the emigrants in every department of France, and go farther to attach the whole nation to the revolution than any of the decrees they have lately passed, or perhaps than even the victories they have lately gained.

But there are men in this convention, and unfortunately leading men too, who are ready to sacrifice every consideration to the gratification of their passions, and whose ruling passions seem to be hatred and revenge.

This day the presidency of Guadet ended, and Herault de Sechelles was elected to succeed him.—Herault is a man of about thirty years of age, of an open engaging countenance, and genteel appearance, circumstances which distinguish him in this assembly: it is also remarkable, that he is not considered as so much devoted to the Girondists as any of the late presidents, which is considered as a proof that they are rather losing ground.

November 3.

As the general council of the municipality of Paris, which was formed at midnight on the 9th of August, claim the whole glory of the revolution, they thought they had the best right to retain also the power of the state.

Without consulting the national assembly, they issued orders for searching many hotels, under various pretexts; detachments of national guards, under leaders chosen by the council, were also sent to particular churches and palaces in Paris and the neighbourhood, and considerable

quantities of plate and other valuable effects carried away, under the pretence of being for the public use, but of which a large portion has been embezzled.

Some members of the national assembly began, a short time after the 10th of August, to speak on the subject of these embezzlements, and proposed to make an inquiry into that business: but the national assembly had then lost all energy; and, according to an expression of one of the deputies, it had become a mere engine for manufacturing decrees at the requisition of the council of the commune. As often as any mention was made of establishing a committee to examine into the extent of these embezzlements, and by whom they had been committed, the proposal was heard with evident marks of ill-humour by all the members of the assembly who were also members of the commune, and by others intimately connected with them. They who made such proposals, finding themselves unsupported, dropped them. It was not thought prudent to irritate the men who issued those orders of arrest by which the prisons had been filled, and who, in the opinion of many, had also issued the orders by which they had been emptied.

It was expected that the convention would be able to effect what the late national assembly attempted in vain, and to restrain the power of the municipality within its proper limits. An account of the usurpations of the general council had been written to all the departments of France; many of the deputies to the convention had come to Paris, prepossessed with the idea that Paris wished to govern the state independent of all the other departments; that the general council governed Paris; and that Danton and Robespierre governed the general council.

Having heard that a debate of importance was expected, I went to the conventional assembly two days ago earlier than usual.

Roland was to present a memorial respecting the state of Paris. When he appeared, contrary to custom, they

postponed the business then transacting, to attend to him. He began by saying, that if the strength of his voice was equal to that of his mind, he should himself read the address which he held in his hand; but as his breast was delicate, he begged that one of the secretaries might be allowed to read it for him. Lanjuinais ascended the tribune, and read.

In this memorial were stated all the usurpations and acts of despotism which had been committed by the commune since the 10th of August, many of which were unknown to the generality of the deputies, and seemed to fill them with equal surprise and indignation. Roland stated that he had often required some account of the money, plate, and effects which had been seized by commissioners from the commune at Senlis, Chantilly, l'Hotel de Coigny, and other hotels, without having had any satisfactory answer; that he had also addressed himself to them to know how Lewis XVI and his family were treated in the Temple, but no notice had been taken of his demand. After having demonstrated how both public and private property had been violated, he demanded whether personal surety had been better protected. This led him to mention the horrors of the beginning of September, which he pretty plainly insinuated were committed by the leaders of the common council, who, he asserted, were still meditating the most rapacious and bloody designs in support of their avarice and ambition. With this memorial Roland presented a letter addressed to the minister of justice, in which information is given, 'that expressions of the most alarming tendency had been used by certain persons of late; that it had been even insinuated that the business begun in September had not been completed; that the whole cabal of Roland and Brissot should be cut off; that there was a scheme for this purpose; that Vergniaud, Guadet, Buzot, La Source, and others displeased the real patriots; and that *Robespierre* was the properest person for conducting the government in the present emergency.

'Ah the villain!' one of the members called aloud, as soon as this name was pronounced.

There was such an uproar in the assembly for some time after Roland's memorial had been read, that no person in particular could be distinctly heard: the noise was mostly occasioned by expressions of rage against Robespierre, and partly by a cry that the memorial should be printed, and sent to all the departments and all the municipalities in France.

Robespierre ascended the tribune: the cry against him was so violent that his voice could not be distinguished: he at last was heard to say, that he wished to justify himself from the calumnies of the minister. He was interrupted by a new cry to close the discussion: he then said he wished to speak against the printing of the memorial.

This was also refused by a pretty universal exclamation; but on its being observed, that they could not decree a proposition without hearing those who wished to speak against it, he was allowed to proceed. He began with a few sentences concerning the printing the paper, and immediately deviated into an eulogium on his own conduct. Guadet, the president, reminded him of the question.

'I have no need of your admonitions,' said Robespierre; 'I know very well on what I have to speak.'

'He thinks himself already dictator,' exclaimed a member.

'Robespierre, speak against the printing,' said the president.

Robespierre then resumed, and declaimed on every thing except against the printing.

His voice was again drowned by an outcry against his wanderings. The president strove to procure silence, that Robespierre might be heard; which he no sooner was, than he accused the president of encouraging the clamour against him.

No accusation could be more unjust or more injudici-

ous than this, because it was false, and because every body present was witness to its falsehood. The president had done all in his power that Robespierre might be heard, and had actually broken three bells by ringing to procure him silence.

The president then said,—'Robespierre, vous voyez les efforts que je fais pour ramener le silence—mais je vous pardonne une calomnie de plus.' *

Robespierre resumed, and continued to speak of himself a considerable time in the most flattering terms.

Many people prefer speaking of themselves to any other topic of discourse, as well as Robespierre; but in him this propensity is irresistible. Praise acts as a cordial on the spirits of most people, but it is the praise they receive from others which has that effect: what is peculiar to Robespierre is, that he seems as much enlivened by the eulogies he bestows on himself, as others are by the applause of their fellow-citizens.

The panegyric he pronounced on his own virtues evidently raised his spirits, and inspired him with a courage which at last precipitated him into rashness. 'A system of calumny is established,' said he with a lofty voice, 'and against whom is it directed? Against a zealous patriot. Yet who is there among you who dares rise and accuse me to my face?'

'Moi,' exclaimed a voice from one end of the hall. There was a profound silence; in the midst of which a thin, lank, pale-faced man stalked along the hall like a spectre; and being come directly opposite to the tribune, he fixed Robespierre, and said, *Oui, Robespierre, c'est moi, qui t'accuse.* †

It was Jean-Baptiste Louvet.

Robespierre was confounded: he stood motionless, and turned pale; he could not have seemed more alarmed had a bleeding head spoken to him from a charger.

* Robespierre, you are yourself witness to the efforts I have made to restore silence; but I forgive you that additional calumny.

† Yes, Robespierre, it is I who accuse you.

Louvet ascended, and appeared in the front of the tribune, while Robespierre shrunk to one side.

Danton perceiving how very much his friend was disconcerted, called out,—'Continue, Robespierre, there are many good citizens here to hear you.'

This seemed to be a hint to the people in the galleries, that they might shew themselves in support of the patriot—but they remained neuter.

The assembly was in such confusion for some time, that nothing distinct could be heard. Robespierre again attempted to speak—his discourse was as confused as the assembly—he quitted the tribune.

Danton went into it; his drift was to prevent Louvet from being heard, and to propose a future day for taking into consideration Roland's memorial; and as Marat seemed at this time to be rather en mauvaise odeur with the convention, Danton thought proper to make a declaration which had no connection with the debate, and which nobody thought sincere.—'Je déclare à la republique entiére,' he exclaimed, 'que je n'aime point l'individu Marat. Je déclare avec franchise que j'ai fait l'expérience de son temperament, et qu'il est non-seulement volcanique et acariâture—mais insociable.' *

This conveys no favourable idea of Danton's eloquence. After finding the two first qualities in Marat, it is surprising that he could search for a third. It is as if a man were to give as his reason for not keeping company with an old acquaintance, that he not only found him quite mad, and always ready to stab those near him with a dagger, but that, over and above, he was sometimes a little too reserved.

This did not divert Louvet from his purpose; he persevered, and the assembly decreed that he should be heard.

* I declare to the whole republic, that I do not love Marat. I frankly acknowledge that I have some experience of the man; and I find not only that he is boisterous and quarrelsome, but also unsociable.

November 4.

He began by requesting the president's protection, that he might be heard without interruption, for he was going to mention things that would be mortally offensive to some present—who, he said, were already sore, and would be apt to scream when he came to touch the tender parts. As he continued a little on some preliminary topics, Danton exclaimed,—' I desire that the accuser would put his finger into the wound.'

' I intend it,' replied Louvet; ' but why does Danton scream beforehand?'

Louvet then proceeded to unfold the popular artifices by which Robespierre acquired his influence in the Jacobin society:—' that he had introduced into it a number of men devoted to him, and, by an insolent exercise of his power, had driven some of the most respectable members out of it; that after the 10th of August he had been chosen of the council general of the commune, and acquired equal influence there. Where he was on that memorable day,' said Louvet, ' nobody can tell; all we know is, that, like Sosia in the play, he did not appear till after the battle. On the 11th or 12th he presented himself to the commune, and under *his* auspices all the orders for arresting the citizens were issued; —that orders had been given for arresting Roland and Brissot, which, by the care of some of their friends, had not been executed:—that a band of men had arrogated to themselves the honour of the revolution of August, whereas the massacres of September only belonged to them.'—Here Tallien and some others of Robespierre's faction, who were also of the general council, began to murmur; on which a member called out—Silence, les blessés! and Louvet resumed, with great animation.— ' Yes, barbarians! to you belong the horrid massacres of September, which you now impute to the citizens of Paris. The citizens of Paris were all present at the Tuilleries on the 10th of August, but who were witnesses to the murders in September? Two, or perhaps three hun-

dred spectators, whom an incomprehensible curiosity had drawn before the prisons. But it is asked, Why then did not the citizens prevent them? Because they were struck with terror; the alarm guns had been fired, the tocsin had sounded; because their ears were imposed on by false rumours; because their eyes were astonished at the sight of municipal officers, dressed in scarfs, presiding at the executions; because Roland exclaimed in vain; because Danton, the minister of justice, was silent; and because Santerre, the commander of the national guards, remained inactive. Soon after these lamentable scenes,' continued Louvet, 'the legislative assembly was frequently calumniated, insulted, and even threatened, by this insolent demagogue.'

Here Louvet being interrupted by the exclamations of Robespierre's adherents, Lacroix went up to the tribune, and declared, that one evening, while he was president of the legislative assembly, but not in the chair, Robespierre, at the head of a deputation of the general council, came to the bar with a particular petition, which Lacroix opposed, and the assembly passed to the order of the day; that having retired to the extremity of the hall, Robespierre said to him, that if the legislative assembly would not with good will do what he required, he would force them to do it by the sound of the tocsin; on which, Lacroix said, he had taken his seat as president, and related to the assembly what had passed.

Other members bore testimony of Robespierre's having pronounced the threat, and they confirmed the truth of all that Lacroix had related. One added, that Lacroix's friends had entreated him not to return to his own house that evening, by the terrace of the Feuillans, because assassins were posted there to murder him.

This interlude excited fresh indignation against Robespierre, who made some efforts to be heard from the tribune. One of the members observed, that a man accused of such a crime ought not to place himself in the tribune, but at the bar.

Robespiérre persisted; but the assembly decided, that he should not be heard till Louvet had finished.

'The legislative assembly,' said Louvet, resuming the very sentence at which he had been interrupted, 'was calumniated, insulted, and menaced by this insolent demagogue, who, with eternal proscriptions in his mouth, accused some of the most deserving representatives of the people with having sold the nation to Brunswick, and accused them the day before the assassinations began: in his bloody proscriptions all the new ministers were included except one, and that one always the same. Will it be in thy power, Danton,' continued Louvet, darting his eyes on the late minister of justice, 'to justify thy character to posterity for that exception? Do not expect to blind us now by disavowing Marat, that *enfant perdu de l'assassinat*: it was through your influence, by your harangues at the electoral assemblies, in which you blackened Priestly, and white-washed Marat, that he is now of this convention. Upon that occasion I demanded leave to speak against such a candidate: as I retired, I was surrounded by those men, with bludgeons and sabres, with whom the future dictator was always accompanied: those body guards of Robespierre, during the period of the massacres, often looked at me with threatening countenances, and one of them said, *It will be your turn soon.*'

Louvet added, that he accused Robespierre of having calumniated some of the most meritorious citizens of the republic; of having accused them unjustly, at a time when accusation was proscription; of having insulted and menaced the national assembly; of having domineered over, and by intrigue and terror influenced, the elections of the electoral assemblies of Paris; and of having attempted the supreme power. He demanded that a committee might be appointed to examine into his conduct.

He then said that he accused another man who had, to the astonishment of all France, been introduced among them by the former, of whom he was the tool. Several

voices called out, Marat! Louvet concluded by saying, that he hoped they would also pronounce a decree against all those monsters who instigate to murder and assassination, against a faction which from personal ambition was tearing the republic in pieces; and that they would also decree that the executive power, in cases of commotion, might call upon all the military force in the department of Paris, and order it to act for the restoration of tranquillity in the manner it judged expedient.

Robespierre ascended the tribune as soon as Louvet had finished.

The assembly seemed unwilling to hear him: some proposed that the discussion should be postponed till next day, and that then Robespierre should be heard at the bar. Louvet moved that he should be heard immediately. Robespierre declared that he did not intend to make his answer then, but desired that the 5th of November might be appointed for that purpose. This attack of Louvet, and the debate which followed, took place several days ago. Louvet was greatly admired for the firmness of his behaviour, and the acuteness of some of his remarks.

Robespierre was thrown into such confusion, that he did not fully recover his spirits and recollection afterwards. The effect of eloquence on an assembly of Frenchmen is violent and instantaneous: the indignation which Louvet's speech raised against Robespierre was prodigious; at some particular parts I thought his person in danger. I fancy the demand of so long an interval before he should make his defence, was suggested by Danton, or some other of his friends; it was a prudent measure: had he attempted to answer immediately, he must have lost his cause; all his eloquence and address could not at that time have effaced the strong impression which Louvet had made.

Although he drew the attack on himself by his imprudent boasting, yet he was taken unprepared: the galleries in particular had been neglected on that day, for the audience shewed no partiality—a thing so unusual when he

spoke, that it is believed to have helped greatly to disconcert him.

November 5.

Two or three days after the scene above described, Roland wrote to the convention, that a late address of the commune of Paris, which had *not* been ordered by the convention to be printed, or transmitted to the departments, had nevertheless been inclosed in covers directed and franked by the mayor of Paris, and put into the post-office: that he had ordered them to be stopped, because the convention had disapproved of the address, and because he believed the name of Petion on the covers to be forged.

Petion immediately rose, and declared that he knew nothing of the intention of transmitting the address to the departments, and had franked none of the covers.

This letter from Roland produced a warm debate, which served only to animate the two parties more violently against each other; one accusing the commune of a low and factious manœuvre, in endeavouring to circulate an address disapproved of by the convention, and which is of a pernicious tendency; the other accusing the minister of a despotic and illegal act in wounding public confidence, by arresting the course of correspondence.

Like all debates in a numerous assembly, where the passions are inflamed, it soon deviated from the object on which it began, and extended to other subjects of recrimination; during which Barbaroux of Marseilles, who had been prevented from speaking on the day on which Louvet accused Robespierre, made a very spirited harangue against the latter and his partisans. It was nearly to the same purpose with that of Louvet, but more correct and concise: its objects were to remove all jealousy of the Marseillois, to urge the necessity of an armed force to protect the convention from the brutality of the mob, and to increase the suspicions of the ambitious views of Robespierre.

He began by asking, 'if the representatives of twenty-five millions of men were to bend their heads to thirty factious persons?

'The inhabitants of the South are accused of having projected a federal republic,' continued Barbaroux; 'yet we, their representatives, declare, that they have instructed us to oppose every project of that nature. I call on Marat to rise and prove that ever there was such a project, or to own himself to be a calumniator.

'The friends of Roland are accused of wishing to domineer by means of the armed force which is requisite to maintain the independence of the convention: I undertake to prove, when that question comes regularly before us, that this is rendered impossible by the very manner in which that force is proposed to be established. It is not to be formed of Swiss guards, but of French citizens from the eighty-three departments.

'Those agitators,' continued Barbaroux, 'who for villanous purposes wish to spread anarchy over the nation, have the audacity to say *they* brought on the revolution of August, and by that falsehood try to make us forget their project of a dictator, their numerous robberies and their horrid murders in September: but they never can be forgotten; nor shall I cease to act against that faction, till the murderers are punished, the effects restored, and the dictators thrown from the rock.

'What,' continued Barbaroux, 'can more plainly demonstrate the ambitious projects of those men, than that which has already been mentioned in the convention, namely, that immediately before the 10th of August, Robespierre invited Rebecqui and me to his house? He spoke to us of the necessity of our rallying all our force under some man who enjoyed great popularity; and Panis, as we took our leave, named Robespierre as the properest man for being dictator. And Robespierre himself proposed in the committee of twenty-one, that the council general of the commune should be authorized to form itself at once into a jury of accusation, a jury of judgment,

and a tribunal for applying the law. Let it be remembered that he himself had the chief influence in the general council. And finally,' said Barbaroux, 'this very man, on another occasion, eager to obtain a decree, came to the bar of the national assembly, and threatened the representatives of the nation to make the tocsin be sounded, if they did not form one as he thought proper to dictate.'

This discourse, while it increased the indignation already kindled against Robespierre, must also tend to make his adherents more zealous to defend him:—it is their own cause:—when the murderers of the prisoners, and the embezzlers of goods, are threatened, many members of the convention, and more of the general council, must be in a state of severe alarm. And severely will this alarm be avenged if these men should ever obtain the ascendency in the convention. On the 2d of September, they shewed what is to be expected from them when in power.

November 6.

Great inconveniency was found in the convention from the petitions, which formerly were allowed to be presented at all times. By a late decree, all petitions are ordered to be reserved for Sunday, when, unless something of great importance intervenes, the sole business is to attend to them.

This renders it the least interesting day for attending the convention. I went last Sunday, in company with an English gentleman, to St. Cloud. This was the summer residence of the Orleans family from the time that *Monsieur*, brother to Lewis XIV, built the chateau, till lately.

From the house itself, as well as from many parts of the delicious park, there is an extensive view comprehending Paris, all the villas around it, a rich landscape of hills, woods, and meadows, through which the Seine flows in many graceful windings. The cascade is greatly admired, and the park has been considered as the happiest effort of the genius of Le Nostre, who has made a delight-

ful use of all the variety of surface it contains, as well as of the Seine which flows by it.—St. Cloud, in the opinion of many, was preferable to any of the royal villas before it became one of them: it was purchased by the queen from the duke of Orleans about five or six years ago, since which time, the apartments within the chateau have been altered at a great expense, and much improved. Nothing can be conceived more commodious. Notwithstanding the richness and magnificence of some of the apartments, this palace, with all its splendid furniture, has remained hitherto undespoiled and unsullied.

The contrast between the magnificence we were beholding, and the wretched apartment in which the person for whom that magnificence was prepared is confined, naturally presented itself to our minds. This idea, with that of the various aggravating circumstances which attend her confinement, made us contemplate the splendour of St. Cloud through a very gloomy medium. The whole manner of the man who conducted us through the apartments, sufficiently evinced that his thoughts sprang from the same source, and flowed in the same channel with ours.

Those who have had the curiosity to visit the houses of princes and villas of nobility, may have remarked with what ostentation and pride the housekeeper and servants conduct strangers through magnificent apartments: they enjoy the admiration of the visitors, and swell with self-importance in proportion to the richness of the furniture. They are not, however, more grossly mistaken than those proprietors, who, deriving all their importance from the same quarter, think it amounts to a great deal.

Nothing of this kind, but all that is opposite, appeared in the demeanour of the man who attended us through the palace of St. Cloud: his mind evidently borrowed no pride from the magnificence he had under his care, but seemed rather to be engrossed with the sad fate of the owners, and the solicitudes

——laqueata circum tecta volantes.

The annals of the unfortunate do not record any situation more dreadful than that of the unhappy queen of France.

Any woman in her situation would be exceedingly miserable; but we cannot help thinking that she must be more miserable than any other woman in the same situation.

The distance at which her rank seemed to have placed her from the reach of the misery which now surrounds and threatens to overwhelm her, renders her sufferings more acute. This circumstance, independent of any absurd prejudice in favour of rank, must increase the sympathy of every feeling heart. Although she is the daughter of an empress, the sister of emperors, and the wife of a king who was lately considered the most powerful in Europe, she seems now more pre-eminent in wretchedness than ever she was in rank and splendour.

She was not only a queen, but a beautiful woman; not only accustomed to the interested and ostentatious submission that attends power, but to that more pleasing attention and obedience which are paid to beauty. Fortune accompanied her friendship, and happiness her smiles. She found her wishes anticipated, and saw her very looks obeyed.—How painful must now be the dreadful reverse! Shut up in a prison, surrounded with barbarians, wretches who rejoice in her calamity and insult her sorrow, with what affecting propriety might this unfortunate queen adopt the pathetic complaint of Job!—'He hath fenced up my way that I cannot pass, and he hath set darkness in my paths.

'He hath stripped me of my glory, and taken the crown from my head.

'He hath destroyed me on every side, and I am gone: and mine hope hath he removed like a tree.

'He hath put my brethren far from me.

'My kinsfolk have failed, and my friends have forgotten me.'

What has this most unfortunate of women already suf-

fered? what is yet reserved for her to endure? She has been shocked by the cruel murder of many of her servants and friends, some of them for no other reason than their fidelity to her. She now suffers all the agonies of suspense,—her heart throbbing from recent wounds, and her mind terrified, not for her own fate only, but for those of her sister, her husband, and her children.—No; the annals of the unfortunate do not record, nor has the imagination of the tragic poet invented, any thing more dreadfully affecting than the misfortunes and sufferings of Marie Antoinette, queen of France; and for ages to come, her name will never be pronounced unaccompanied with execrations against the unmanly and unrelenting wretches who have treated her, and suffered her to be treated, in the manner she has been.

November 7.

From St. Cloud we wished to drive to Mont Calvaire, but found part of the road impassable for a carriage, and were obliged to return and go directly to Paris.—It seems very strange, that a road between a royal palace and a neighbouring hill, to which there is so great a resort from other places, should be in this state. The day was one of the finest I ever saw. On coming to the barrier, immediately before we entered Paris, a waggon stood across the road, which stopped our carriage; the coachman had some words with the waggoner, who was drinking with some sans-culottes. He seemed in no hurry to move his waggon out of the way, notwithstanding the repeated requests of our coachman, who, after a little altercation, lost his temper so far as to make use of the term *canaille*, which has such an aristocratic sound, that it alarmed me. I instantly and very loudly rebuked the coachman; which pleased the audience so much, that they removed the waggon, and we passed unmolested to Paris.

I was the more alarmed at this expression, on account of a scene which I had been witness to in the gallery of

the national assembly. A man dressed like a gentleman had a dispute with two persons of a poor appearance: he called them *canaille*, which drew the severest of all repartees from one of them, namely, that he was an aristocrate. The people around took part against the accused person, who tried in vain to refute the charge; they would not listen, but obliged him to leave the gallery.

A gentleman who had entered with him was very near being reduced to the same necessity. One addressed him in an angry tone, saying,—'The people are not to be treated in the insolent manner your friend did, sir.'

To which the other answered with mildness,—'Il n'est pas probable, monsieur, que j'aie la moindre intention d'insulter le peuple, puisque j'ai l'honneur d'en faire partie.' *

November 8.

On the day on which Robespierre made his defence, the galleries of the conventional assembly were crowded at an early hour; but having an order from the president for the box of the Logographe, I was admitted at the usual time.

There was not so great a crowd of the populace at the entry to the assembly as I have sometimes seen; but those who were there expressed their partiality for him, and dislike to his accusers. On the terrace of the Feuillans, the groups were mostly formed of his partisans; one fellow, accompanied by two or three others, carried tripe on a pole, which they swore they would force those to eat, who should vote against so distinguished a patriot.

Immediately before Robespierre ascended the tribune, a deputy complained that the galleries were unfairly filled; that certain privileged persons, chiefly women, had been introduced for the purpose of applauding, while all the impartial citizens were kept out.—'Des citoyennes,'

* It is not probable that I should have any intention to insult the people, since I have the honour to be one of them.

he exclaimed, 'sont à la porte des tribunes, tandis que d'autres porteuses de cartes privilégiées sont facilement entrées.' *

This observation occasioned an universal laugh, and every body turned their eyes to the galleries, which were almost entirely filled with women. Robespierre's eloquence is said to be peculiarly admired by the sex; and it has been remarked, that on the nights when he was expected to speak at the Jacobins, the proportion of females in the galleries was always greater than usual.

When Robespierre appeared in the tribune, it was evident that he had entirely recovered his spirits, and he certainly made a much better figure than he did when he was last there.

'I am accused,' said he, 'of having aimed at the supreme power. If such a scheme is criminal, it must be allowed to be still more bold. To succeed, I must have been able not only to overthrow the throne, but also to annihilate the legislature, and above all, to prevent its being replaced by a national convention. But, in reality, I myself was the first who, in my public discourses and writings, proposed a national convention as the only means of saving the country. To arrive at the dictatorship, to render myself master of Paris, was not sufficient; I must also have been able to subdue the other eighty-two departments. Where were my treasures? where were my armies? what strongly fortified places had I secured? All the riches and power of the state were in the hands of my enemies. In such circumstances, to make it credible that I had such a scheme, my accusers must demonstrate that I am a complete madman.'

'Ce n'est pas là l'embarras,' † said one of the deputies near me to those around him.

'And when they have made that point clear,' continued Robespierre, 'I cannot conceive what they will gain by

* Some female citizens are kept at the door, while other females with privileged tickets are seated in the tribunes.

† That would not be difficult.

it, for then it will remain for them to prove that a madman can be dangerous in a state.'

'Bah!' said the deputy who had already spoken, 'ils sont les plus redoubtables.' *

Robespierre denied having ever had much connection with Marat, and he explained by what means he had been induced to have the little which he avowed; and he asserted, that Marat had not been chosen to the convention from *his* recommendation, nor perhaps from any high opinion which the electors had of that deputy, but from their hatred to the aristocrates, whose mortal enemy they knew Marat to be.

'I am accused,' continued Robespierre, 'of having exercised the despotism of opinion in the Jacobin society. That kind of despotism over the minds of a society of freemen could only be acquired and obtained by reasoning. I find nothing therefore to blush for in this accusation. Nothing can be more flattering to me than the good opinion of the Jacobins, especially as Lewis XVI and Mons. de la Fayette have both found that the opinion of the Jacobins is the opinion of all France. But now, that society, as Louvet pretends, is not what it was, it has degenerated; and perhaps, after having accused me, his next step will be to demand the proscription of the Jacobins. We shall then see whether he will be more persuasive and more successful than Leopold and La Fayette.

'Louvet next tries to vilify the general council of the commune; those men who, chosen by the sections, assembled in the town-house on that awful night when the conspiracy of the court was ready to burst forth; those men who directed the movements of that insurrection which saved the state; who disconcerted the measures of the traitors in the Tuilleries, by arresting the commander of the national guards, who had given orders to the leaders of battalions to allow the people to pass towards the Carousel, and then attack them in the rear: those patriots are of too much energy of character to be esteemed by the

* They are the most dangerous.

slaves of monarchy; but it is not in the power of calumny and imposture to preclude the heroic service they were of to the republic from the records of history.

'They are accused,' continued he, 'of arresting men contrary to the forms of law. Was it expected, then, that we were to accomplish a revolution in the government with the code of the laws in our hands? Was it not because the laws were impotent, that the revolution was absolutely necessary?—Why are we not accused also of having disarmed suspected citizens, and of excluding from the assemblies which deliberate on the public safety, all known enemies of the revolution? Why do you not bring accusations against the electoral assemblies and the primary assemblies? They have all done acts, during this crisis, which are *illegal*, as illegal as the overthrowing of the Bastile, as illegal as liberty itself.

'When the Roman consul had suppressed the conspiracy of Catiline, Clodius accused him of having violated the laws. The consul's defence was, that he had saved the republic.

'We are accused of sending commissioners to various departments.—What! is it imagined that the revolution was to be completed by a simple coup de main, and seizing the castle of the Tuilleries? Was it not necessary to communicate to all France that salutary commotion which had electrified Paris?

'What species of persecution is this, which converts into crimes the very efforts by which we broke our chains? At this rate, what people will ever be able to shake off the yoke of despotism? The people of a large country cannot act together; the tyrant can only be struck by those who are near him. How is it to be expected that they will venture to attack him, if those citizens who come from the distant parts of the nation shall, after the victory, make them responsible by law for the means they used to save their country? The friends of freedom, who assembled at Paris in the month of August, did their best for general liberty. You must approve or disavow their whole con-

duct taken together, and cannot, in candour, examine into partial disorders, which have ever been inseparable from great revolutions. The people of France, who have chosen you as their delegates, have ratified all that happened in bringing about the revolution. Your being now assembled here is a proof of this: you are not sent to this convention as justices of the peace, but as legislators: you are not delegated to look with inquisitorial eyes into every circumstance of that insurrection which has given liberty to France, but to cement by wise laws that fabric of freedom which France has obtained.—Posterity will pay attention to nothing in those events but their sacred cause, and their sublime effect.'

Robespierre denied however having any connection with the slaughter of the prisoners, which, he asserted, was entirely owing to the indignation of the public for M. Montmorin's being acquitted by the criminal tribunal, the escape of the prince de Poix and other people of importance, joined to the emotion occasioned by the taking of Longwy. In this part of his defence he seems to have copied from a pamphlet written by Tallien, entitled, *La Verité sur les Evénemens du 2 Septembre*,* in which is hardly a word of truth.

Robespierre then added, (and it required a most determined firmness of front to add this), 'I am told that *one innocent* person perished among the prisoners, some say more; but one is without doubt too much. Citizens, it is very natural to shed tears on such an accident. I have wept bitterly myself for this fatal mistake. I am even sorry that the other prisoners, though they all deserved death by the law, should have fallen sacrifices to the irregular *justice* of the people. But do not let us exhaust our tears on them; let us keep a few for ten thousand patriots sacrificed by the tyrants around us: weep for your fellow-citizens, expiring under their roofs, beat down by the cannon of those tyrants: let us reserve a few tears for the children of our friends massacred before their eyes, and

* The real Truth respecting the Events of the 2d of September.

their infants stabbed in the arms of their mothers, by the mercenary barbarians who invade our country.—I acknowledge that I greatly suspect that kind of sensibility which is only shewn in lamenting the death of the enemies of freedom. On hearing those pathetic lamentations for Lamballe and Montmorin, I think I hear the manifesto of Brunswick. Cease to unfold the bloody robe of the tyrant before the eyes of the people, otherwise I shall believe you wish to throw Rome back again into slavery. Admirable humanity! which tends to enslave the nation, and manifests a barbarous desire of shedding the blood of the best patriots!'

Robespierre, having finished his speech, came down from the tribune, amidst the applause of the galleries, and of part of the convention.

Louvet took his place, and declared, that he was ready to refute every argument, or shadow of argument, that had been urged in his defence. The uproar prevented his proceeding: some called for the printing of Robespierre's speech—others declaimed against it—there was a great confusion for some time—the question was at last put, and the printing decreed.

Merlin of Thionville said, that Roland had dispersed 15,000 copies of Louvet's accusation: he therefore moved, that the same number of the defence should be printed.

When a great debate is expected, those members who intend to speak give their names to the secretaries, and the president calls them in the order in which the names have been given. Thirteen members gave their names on this occasion: three declared they intended to speak in defence of Robespierre, five against him, and five on the subject in general. This formidable number of speakers, and the known tediousness of some of them, appeared so awful, that the assembly became disposed to preclude the discussion. Barrere proposed to close it immediately. Barbaroux was so eager to be heard, that, when refused as a member, he presented himself at the bar as an accuser. Couthon and other friends of Robe-

spierre exclaimed against this, and insisted on the business being stifled, by passing to the order of the day.

Barbaroux retired from the bar, and Louvet attempted to speak—he could not be heard.

One member remarked that, if Robespierre felt himself innocent, he would desire that his adversaries should be heard.

Barrere at last ascended the tribune, and immediately there appeared a disposition in the assembly to hear him; he was considered as an impartial man, who belonged to neither party. His speech seemed to have been prepared: the tendency of it was to shew that accusations and recriminations only served to irritate individuals, and injure the interest of the public; that the time of the convention was due to the nation, and ought not to be engrossed by deliberations on the crimes or virtues of one or two persons. 'It is time,' said he, 'to estimate those little undertakers of revolutions at their just value; it is time to give over thinking of them and their manœuvres: for my part, I can see neither Syllas nor Cromwells in men of such moderate capacities; and instead of bestowing any more time on them and their intrigues, we ought to turn our attention to the great questions which interest the republic.'

He then moved to pass to the order of the day; which, after some further debate, was agreed to; several members who had shewn great eagerness to proceed with severity against Robespierre immediately after Louvet's accusation, having, during the interval, either been gained by his friends, or influenced by their own reflections, that it was best to give up a measure, which, however proper in itself, seemed inexpedient in the present state of men's minds. Some of them think that, if Robespierre were ordered to be arrested, it would excite an insurrection, and that an attempt to punish the authors of the massacres would occasion their renewal.

Thus this business ended in a kind of drawn battle, which is perhaps the worst end it could have for the in-

terest of the republic; for the parties remain too nearly equal in force, and likely to ruin the common interest by their mutual animosity.

November 9.

An account of Louvet's speech against Robespierre was given the same night at the Jacobin society; it excited great indignation. What is supposed to have provoked some of the members most, was the proposal to examine into the source of the massacres, and to punish the authors. This, however, could not be avowed; they affected therefore to feel only for the attack on Robespierre, which was denominated by various speakers a conspiracy against patriotism itself, by a set of men of aristocratic principles, who were in the pay of Roland.

The names of Louvet, Rebecqui, and Barbaroux, were still on their lists as members of this society: it was proposed to expel them, and the vote was carried.

Robespierre himself was not in the society, but his brother was. He made a harangue on the occasion, in which he declared, that he had been often afraid, during Louvet's speech, that some members of the convention would have stabbed his brother; that he had heard one of them swear that he was determined on it. There was an outcry immediately that he should name the horrid wretch, but the brother of Robespierre acknowledged that *he did not* know his name.

The convention's having passed to the order of the day after hearing Robespierre's defence, is considered by his friends as a victory: their triumph on that account is as great as their rage was at his accusation, and they leave no means untried to inspire the citizens with hatred to his enemies. Legendre and Tallien asserted lately in the convention, that a party of the Marseillois, with some dragoons of the republic, had appeared with drawn swords in the streets, crying,—'Off with the head of Marat!' A bas la tête de Marat! and singing a song, the burden of which is,

Robespierre, Marat, Danton, et tous ceux
Qui s'en mêleront, à la guillotine, ô gué, &c.

Tallien added, that these same *fédérés* had cursed those three deputies in a coffeehouse on the Boulevards, and had cried,—' Vive Roland! point de procés au roi!'

It is true that some *fédérés* and dragoons, being in liquor, sung the words above mentioned in the streets: but the other article is without foundation, and added on purpose to throw odium on the minister; for the most dangerous aspersion that can be thrown out against any person at present, is, that he wishes to prevent the condemnation of the king.—In the meantime, Marat thinks proper to keep himself concealed; and an uncommon number of patrols have been remarked in the streets, particularly near the dwellings of Robespierre and Danton, ever since Louvet's accusation. Some people assert, that Santerre has given orders for this, merely to convey the notion that the lives of those great patriots are in danger from the Marseillois. Whether this is the case or not I cannot tell; but I do observe, that those who say they are in danger wish them to live, and those who insist upon it that they are quite safe would be very happy to hear of their death.

As for Santerre, whatever his motive may be for ordering those patrols, it was well observed in one of the late journals, that if he had paid half the attention to protect the poor prisoners, that he now shews to guard Robespierre, there would have been no massacres in September.

November 10.

The Girondists affect to turn the triumph of Robespierre's friends into ridicule: they insist upon it, that passing to the order of the day on an accusation of the nature of that brought by Lovet against Robespierre, would be the most severe and humiliating of all mortifications to a man of good character and common feeling. Whatever truth there may be in that, it is evident that

his party are in higher spirits, and have gained strength since he made his defence. The friends of Roland certainly expected that Louvet's accusation would have thrown such an odium on Robespierre and all his adherents, as would have gone far to annihilate their influence in the convention: instead of which, those members who spoke with horror of his conduct before, mention it with caution and moderation now. Barrere, by alluding to him with contempt as a dictator, has removed part of the indignation that prevailed against him; and in moving the order of the day he rendered a very important service to Robespierre, and did what was highly agreeable to Danton, who had done every thing he could, from the beginning, to prevent any scrutiny from being made relative either to the conduct of Robespierre, or the murder of the prisoners. I am persuaded, therefore, that Barrere thinks Roland's party, notwithstanding the majority which on some questions they may still have in the convention, is on the whole the weaker of the two, and that he means to attach himself to that of Danton.

Condorcet, however, judges otherwise; for his conduct, which sometime since was thought doubtful, now plainly indicates a decided preference of the Girondists.

M. Condorcet very seldom speaks in the conventional assembly: in a public paper under his direction he delivers his political sentiments with more effect than he could by speaking: in this he has of late directed such strokes of ridicule against Robespierre, as no man would do who wished to keep on good terms with him.

In the Chronique de Paris of yesterday is the following curious article, which I shall insert, because it shews M. Condorcet's idea of a man who has made so much noise in this country, particularly of late.—

'Il y a, dans la révolution Française, des hommes et des événemens qui n'y font un certain bruit passager, que parceque la turbulence nationale grossit et gonfle tout, et qu'il y a peu d'observateurs tranquilles. Ces petits

hommes et ces petits faits ne tiendront que quatre lignes dans l'histoire.

' Une de ces circonstances de huit jours, c'est l'accusation intentée contre Robespierre, par un homme de beaucoup d'esprit et de talent, mais qui a beaucoup plus d'imagination encore. L'accusateur et l'accusé ont été tous les deux entendus, et tous les deux ont prouvé qu'il étoit impossible de faire de Robespierre un dictateur.

' Tout le monde a remarqué que l'on avoit amené beaucoup de femmes à la séance: les tribunes en contenoient sept ou huit cents, et deux cents hommes tout au plus, et les passages étoient obstrués de femmes.

' On demande quelquefois pourquoi tant de femmes a la suite de Robespierre, chez lui à la tribune des Jacobins, aux Cordeliers, à la convention? C'est que la révolution Française est une religion, et que Robespierre y fait une secte: c'est un prêtre qui a des dévôtes; mais il est évident que toute sa puissance est en quenouille. Robespierre prêche, Robespierre censure; il est furieux, grave, mélancholique, exalté à froid, suivi dans ses pensées et dans sa conduite; il tonne contre les riches et les grands; il vit de peu, et ne connoît pas les besoins physiques; il n'a qu'une seule mission, c'est de parler, et il parle presque toujours.—Il refuse les places où il pourroit servir le peuple, et choisit les postes où il croit pouvoir le gouverner; il paroit quand il peut faire sensation, il disparoit quand la scéne est remplie par d'autres; il a tous les caracteres, non pas d'un chef de religion, mais d'un chef de secte; il se fait une réputation d'austérité qui vise à la sainteté; il monte sur des bancs; il parle de Dieu et de la Providence; il se dit l'ami des pauvres et des foibles; il se fait suivre par les femmes; il reçoit gravement leurs adorations et leurs hommages; il disparoit avant le danger, et l'on ne voit que lui quand le danger est passé. Robespierre est un prêtre, et ne sera jamais que cela.' *

* In the French revolution certain men and certain events have made a temporary noise, only because national turbulence swells and enlarges every

November 11.

Bazire, one of the deputies for the department of the Côte d'Or, and strongly attached to the party of Robespierre, made a report lately from the committee of general safety on the present state of the city of Paris.

In this he represented Paris as in great tranquillity,—with a view, no doubt, to prove that the armed force which

every thing, and because there are but few cool observers. These little men, and these unimportant events, will not employ four lines of history.

One of those incidents of a week is the accusation of Robespierre, by a man of great understanding and talents, but whose imagination is more extensive than either. The accuser and the accused have both been heard, and both have proved, that it is impossible to make a dictator of Robespierre.

Every body remarked that a great many women had been brought to the galleries of the national assembly when Robespierre made his defence. Among seven or eight hundred which the galleries contain, there were at the most two hundred men, and all the passages were filled with women.

It is sometimes asked, how it happens that such numbers of women are continually attending Robespierre wherever he is, at his own house, at the galleries of the Jacobins, of the Cordeliers, and of the convention?

It is because the French revolution is considered as a religion, of which Robespierre is the leader of a sect. He is a priest who has devotees, but it is evident that all his power is *en quenouille*.* Robespierre preaches, Robespierre censures; he is furious, grave, melancholic, affectedly exalted, followed in his opinions, and in his conduct; he thunders against the rich and the great; he lives on little, is moderate in his natural apetites; his chief mission is to speak, and he speaks continually. He refuses those offices in which he might be of service to the people, and chooses those in which he expects to govern them; he appears where he can make a figure, and disappears when the scene is occupied by others: he has all the characteristics, not of the leader of a religion, bu of the leader of a sect: he attempts to establish a reputation of austerity which points to sanctity: he mounts on forms, and talks of God and of Providence; he calls himself the friend of the poor and of the weak; he makes himself be followed by women, and gravely accepts of their homage and admiration; he retires before danger, and nobody is so conspicuous as he when the danger is over. Robespierre is a priest, and never can be any thing more.

* This expression is used in the ancient French chronicles relative to the succession of the crown, to declare that women are excluded, *la couronne en France ne tombe jamais en quenouille.* It is now applied in other cases, and here implies that Robespierre's power is chiefly over women.

has been so often required for the security of the convention is not necessary.

He endeavoured to justify in a great measure the massacres of the prisoners in September, and afterwards made one of the most improbable assertions that ever was imagined, namely, that some servants of a lady of the court (it was imagined he meant Madame de Lamballe) began the assassinations, with a view to save their mistress. His words are,—'Je dois dire cependant, qu'il est prouvé que les domestiques d'une femme célébre à la cour se déguisèrent en sans-culottes, s'armèrent de piques et de tranchans, se portèrent aux prisons, et les premiers égorgèrent des prisonniers avec des marques de fureur assez atroces, et des propos assez violens, pour acquérir quelque crédit dans la foule, et sauver par ce moyen leur maitresse.

'Voilà quels furent les premiers auteurs de ces massacres!

'Celui des prisonniers d'Orléans s'est fait particuliérement par des gens attachés au service de la reine, reconnus à la tête de l'attroupement de Versailles.' *

And he added, that as he was in the committee of surveillance during these scenes, he knew some important facts relating to them, which it would be improper to reveal at present, but which he would publish perhaps at some future period. †

* I must declare, however, that it has been proved that the servants of a lady of the court disguised themselves like sans-culottes, and being armed with pikes and other deadly weapons, went to the prisons, and joined in the massacres of the prisoners with such fury as they imagined would gain credit with the populace, and enable them to save their mistress.

Those men were the first authors of the massacres.

As for the massacre of the Orleans prisoners, that was chiefly executed by men in the service of the queen, who are known to have put themselves at the head of the band of assassins at Versailles.

† When I heard Bazire pronounce this, I considered it as entirely false; but I have been since assured, from good authority, that some servants of Madame de Lamballe and of the princesse de Tarente, particularly the valet-de-chambre of the latter, actually joined the mob that surrounded the prison of La Force, and, by adopting the furious language of the mob, endeavoured

Bazire terminated his discourse by blaming the conduct of those who were continually mentioning these scenes in September, which, he insinuated, had been of more service to the consolidating of the revolution than at first sight might appear; and he advised all parties to forget their former differences, wave all idea of accusations on the account of the scenes in September; and unite in mutual confidence and friendship for the public welfare.

While Bazire was in this manner preaching peace and tranquillity, the assembly was in an uproar, and the actions and exclamations of the members indicated fury and deadly hatred.

Some called out for printing and dispersing the report, others opposed it.

At last St. André, formerly a Calvinist minister, now a deputy for the department du Lot, one of the most violent partisans of Robespierre, made a speech, the tendency of which was to prove the utility of printing and dispersing the report; which would shew the good people how unanimous the convention was; that all former seeds of dissension were now blasted; that there was no appearance of distrust or accusation; and would remove the error in which the departments were in believing there was any need of a guard for the convention, where mutual confidence, freedom of opinion, and tranquillity reigned.

The falsehood of these representations, which were delivered in a canting hypocritical tone, were so well known to the assembly, that they produced a laugh: after which Buzot said,—'I should be glad to see real union founded on mutual esteem established among us; but there can be neither esteem nor union between the heroes of the 10th of

deavoured to gain so much credit as would enable them to save their mistresses. But these servants in no other way joined with the assassins; and the plan, which certainly was formed on the most generous motives, did succeed with regard to Madame de Tarente.

The assertion respecting the queen's servants at Versailles is without any foundation.

which the victory of Jemmappe was gained, should be appointed as a day for annual rejoicing.

Lasource opposed this. 'Let us wait,' said he, 'until the triumph of liberty is complete, by the defeat of all the tyrants at war with us; let us not by partial distinctions create jealousy in the other armies of the republic; remember the success of Custine, and the 20th of September, which does so much honour to Kellermann.'

'Let us decree no national rejoicing,' said Barrere, 'when so many men have perished. The ancients, after their victories, appointed funeral ceremonies only. Tyrants order rejoicings, although their subjects have perished. Shall republicans imitate the unfeeling joy of tyrants? You ordained with propriety a public rejoicing for the conquest of Savoy, because it cost no blood. Here 4000 men have perished; the Austrians are men: 300* French have likewise perished, and yet you talk of rejoicing!'

But Vergniaud, with a discernment superior to such unnatural and affected sentiments, said,—'Undoubtedly men have perished, but the cause of freedom is triumphant. Let us beware of metaphysical abstractions; the love of glory, of our country, and of liberty is natural to man; and we, as legislators, ought to cherish those generous sentiments in the hearts of our countrymen. Wretched is the philosophy which damps them! If such sentiments had not glowed in the breasts of Frenchmen, where should we now have been? where our armies? where our victories? One way to keep this sacred fire alive, is public rejoicings on such occasions as the present. Let a national feast, therefore, be decreed for the success of all our armies. To a funeral oration's being pronounced on the same occasion I give my consent; but that a national feast be decreed, I demand.'

The feast was decreed.

* It cannot be believed that this account of the killed and wounded is just. Private letters from the army state a much greater number of the French among the slain.

Baptiste, who had withdrawn immediately after the decree had passed in his favour, now appeared again at the bar, dressed in the uniform of the national guards; he is a handsome and genteel young man. The aid-de-camp, who had remained at the bar while the other was withdrawn, threw his arms around his neck and embraced him the instant he appeared. The hall resounded with reiterated applause.

'Brave citizen,' said the president, 'enter within the sanctuary of law; the legislators are impatient to have one who deserves so well of his country, seated among them; they are impatient till you receive the recompense due to your intrepidity.'

Baptiste and Lieutenant-colonel Larue entered into the assembly; the former was led up to the tribune, where the president saluted him, and presented him with a sword as the gift of his country. How exquisite must have been the sensations of this young man at that moment! the mere idea of them was delightfully affecting. When a gentleman distinguishes himself by any noble action, he attracts praise and admiration, although we presume that he has had honourable sentiments inculcated into his mind from his infancy; but when one born in the lowest rank, who has not received the advantage of education, and whose chief concern for a considerable part of his life, probably, was to ward off the misery of want, and secure daily bread, displays a mind superior to every sordid consideration, and capable of the most generous effort —such a man assuredly is an object of still greater admiration.

November 13.

The battalion of Marseillois and some fédérés from other departments, now at Paris, give uneasiness to the party of Danton and Robespierre, in spite of their influence in the general council and in the suburbs: they find that Roland is supported by a majority in the convention: they fear that this will continue to be the case as long as

the Marseillois and fédérés remain in the capital. Their presence damps the energy of the patriots of St. Antoine, and prevents Danton from reaping the full benefit of their attachment. Great pains have been taken to render the Marseillois odious, and excite a jealousy of them in the minds of the suburb sans-culottes. It was expected that, confiding in their numbers, the latter would have driven the strangers out of Paris; but the very name of Marseillois keeps the suburb patriots in check; and although the courage of the former has not been put to the proof since their arrival at Paris, that of their townsmen, to which the sans-culottes were witnesses on the 10th of August, impresses their minds with an awful respect for the small band from the same town, now at the capital.

As it was found difficult to drive them out of Paris by force, a plan was formed to get rid of them by policy.

Pache has been war minister ever since Servan was appointed to the command of the army on the frontiers next to Spain. He owed his situation entirely to the recommendation of Roland; but Danton and Robespierre have had the address to convince him that he will have the best chance of retaining it, by attaching himself to them; and Pache, like many others, being more influenced by the favours he expects than by those he has already received, is supposed to have entered into their views.

Custine lately made a requisition of reinforcements for his army: Pache informed the military committee of this, and at the same time hinted that it would be proper to send all the fédérés now at Paris, as part of the reinforcement. This plan had the better chance of succeeding, as the first suggestion came from Pache, a man supposed to be the friend of Roland, and as none of the principal members of Danton's party seemed to interest themselves in it.

It was no sooner mentioned in the convention, however, than Buzot saw through the whole scheme, and unfolded it at full length, as an intrigue to expose the convention to the most mortifying of all situations, and sub-

ject them to the insolence of a faction which had the direction of the inhabitants of two of the suburbs.

Barbaroux also represented it as an abominable conspiracy, which if carried into execution, might expose the lives of many of the deputies, and end in the pillage of Paris: he insisted that the *fédérés* could not be of so much service to their country any where as at the capital, where they were ever ready to join with the most respectable citizens in defence of the legislative body, and for the protection of property.

Cambon being struck with the observations made by Buzot and Barbaroux, and with the recollection of some scenes that had been acted immediately after the 10th of August, ascended the tribune with a precipitation, and raised his voice to a pitch that surprised the assembly, and commanded their attention. He put them in mind of the tyrannical manner in which the last assembly had been treated by those men who had the direction of the Fauxbourgs, and by that general council who on the 10th of August had seized the government, and insulted the representatives of the nation. He asked if they had forgotten that those usurpers had ordered the barriers to be shut, the tocsin to be sounded; that they had threatened the members; and that when the Swiss who had resigned their arms were placed within the walls of the assembly, and under the safeguard of the public faith, a gang of blood-thirsty ruffians had come to the doors of the assembly-hall, and demanded that they should be delivered up to their savage rage; that those furious men were on the point of bursting into the assembly, and dragging them out to be slaughtered; and that they were not turned from their purpose till Lacroix and some other deputies begged of them *upon their knees* not to proceed to so horrid an outrage! *

* Although I was in the national assembly when this happened, I was ignorant of it at that time, and therefore it is not inserted in the journal; but Lacroix, on the present occasion, confirmed the truth of Cambon's assertion.

'Would you be again subjected to the same tyranny?' continued Cambon. 'If so, order the *fédérés* to leave Paris before an armed force is decreed and established for the protection of the convention; put yourselves again in the power of those whose despotism you have experienced —the very tyrants who enslaved the legislative assembly; and soon, in the midst of anarchy and civil war, the French Cromwell will appear, and tell you that he will be your protector, and give you peace; that you stand in need of his popularity and despotism to render you happy. But no; we will have no protector, no king, no triumvirs, no tribunes, we will be free; for which purpose, let us secure the independency of the national assembly, and on no pretext allow the *fédérés* to be removed from Paris till an organized force is formed from all the departments of the republic, which can prevent the representatives from being under the influence of one department only.'

Cambon pronounced this with great fire and energy, which seemed to proceed entirely from the strong conviction he felt of the importance of his subject; and which had the greater effect, as his usual style of speaking is uncommonly cold and uninteresting. His manner is awkward, and his countenance dull. He is of a methodical, calculating turn of mind, and considered as their best financier. I have frequently heard him speak before; and generally when he began, I heard it observed,—'Now we shall have something worth hearing; this is a man of admirable good sense:' but I always found his good sense so excessively tiresome, that I never could listen to it long. But on this occasion he commanded all my attention, and his discourse made a strong impression on the assembly; it is believed to have contributed more than all that had been previously said, to the failure of the plan which had been very artfully arranged for sending away the *fédérés*.

The importance put on such a question as this, shews how very loose and unsettled the affairs of this country are; and that in whose hands the government is to re-

main, depends more on the sans-culottes of two or three of the suburbs of Paris, and a handful of determined fellows from Marseilles, than on the unbiassed will of the conventional assembly.

Roland and the Girondists seem to be in something of the same situation that the court was in a little before the 10th of August. The party of Danton and Robespierre are as earnest for the destruction of the first, as ever they were for that of the second; and they seem preparing to attempt it by the same means.

The court a little before that epoch had the majority of the national assembly with them,—Roland's party have the majority of the convention with them at present.

The court had a battalion of Swiss and a band of gentlemen to protect them. The Girondists have a battalion of men from Marseilles and some *fédérés* from other departments for their guards: whether these last will prove more successful than the Swiss is yet to be tried. In the meantime, it is evident that each party is more afraid of the other, than either is of all their external enemies.

November 14.

Some days ago I saw the following article in the Chronique de Paris.—

'Lorsque Louis a été conduit au Temple, il n'avoit pas le sols: le citoyen Pétion lui a prêté deux mille livres. Voici son billet.—

'Le roi reconnoit avoir reçu de M. Pétion la somme de 2526 liv. y compris 526 liv. que MM. les commissaires de la municipalité se sont chargés de remettre à M. Hue, qui les avoit avancés pour le service du roi.

Paris, ce 3 *Septembre* 1792. (Signé) 'LOUIS.' *

* When Lewis was conducted to the Temple, he had not a penny; Citizen Petion lent him two thousand livres.—Here follows his receipt.—

The king acknowledges having received from M. Petion the sum of 2526 livres, 526 livres of which the commissioners of the municipality are to pay to M. Hue, who had advanced them for the service of the king.

Paris, this 3d of Sept. 1792. (Signed) LOUIS.

I had the curiosity to shew this to a person whom I knew to be of Petion's acquaintance, asking him, at the same time, if he believed it.

He said he could not tell whether it was true or not, but that he would inform me of something to the same purpose, which I might depend upon was true. He then told me, that, having some business with the mayor, he had waited on him on the 31st of August; that while he was with him, a letter was delivered to the mayor, which, having read, he threw carelessly on the table, and said to the servant, *very well.* He then turned to my acquaintance, and conversed with him on the business which had brought him there; and afterwards, as he happened to have his eyes fixed on the letter, which lay open on the table, the mayor said, you may read it, if you please.—It was from the king, and what follows is a literal translation.—

'The king would be glad that Mr. Petion gave an answer to the letter written to him five days ago,—this is the last day of the month, and he has received no money to defray his expenses: the king will be obliged to Mr. Petion, if he will let him know what he is to receive, and send him an answer to-day.

(Signed) 'LOUIS.'

Countersigned by two other names.

The patience with which the king has endured every hardship which pressed on himself alone, gives reason to believe that he has been prevailed on to write on this subject from a consideration for others; it is probable that the first letter was written by some attendant, and that this not having been answered, the king has been under the necessity of writing the second himself.

That either was necessary is abominable, and betrays real meanness of spirit in those who are affecting grandeur of mind, and a manner of thinking superior to vulgar prejudices.

November 15.

It is difficult to be informed of the treatment which the

royal family are subjected to in the Temple. Many circumstances of a public nature, however, indicate that it is indelicate and harsh in the highest degree.

A committee appointed by the general council of the commune of Paris sit there constantly, and, according to directions given, regulate every thing respecting the royal family.

As they have been more closely confined of late, and not seen by the guards which do duty at the Temple, a report was spread that the king had escaped, although the same number of men as usual continued to mount guard: it was said, that this was done merely to deceive the people, till some excuse could be thought of to avert the public indignation from the committee for their negligence or treachery. Full of this idea, a body of men from the sections of Paris, who were on guard at the Temple, insisted upon seeing the king and royal family, that they might be satisfied themselves, and enabled to satisfy their fellow-citizens, that the king actually was in the Temple, and that they were not guarding empty apartments, as was strongly suspected.

The municipal officers refused to comply with this demand; the guard insisted, and threatened to force their way into the apartments. Santerre was sent for; he expostulated with those mutineers, and assured them, that all the family were safe in the prison. This at length satisfied the volunteers from the sections; but the cannoneers persisted in their demand, and Santerre was under the necessity of appealing to the multitude assembled at the gates of the Temple, who, in character of peuple souverain, decided against the cannoneers, and they were obliged to give up the point.

The municipal committee, to whose care the royal family are peculiarly intrusted, have made frequent reports to the general council, in which they pretend, that there seems to be a plan of delivering them from the Temple,—and the smallest accidental circumstances which occur are considered as signals from without, which are fully un-

derstood by the prisoners within. Mention has been made in those returns to the general council, of a man's being heard playing on a flute at midnight, of the songs that are sung in the street, the expressions used by the common criers that pass: and it is insinuated, that, by all these, more is meant than meets the ear. Sometime since, the committee represented, that when the family walked in the garden, or appeared on the balcony, a number of persons came to the windows of the adjacent houses, and made signals, which seemed to be understood by the prisoners. One member of the council proposed, that, to prevent this last, the king and royal family should never be permitted to come into the open air, till it was so dark that they could not be seen; another proposed to raise the walls in the garden, and make such alterations in the Temple as would effectually prevent the prisoners from being seen by any person without.

Both these ingenious proposals were rendered unnecessary by an order from the council, that all the family should be prevented from walking in the garden, or even appearing at the windows of their apartments; and when they assemble at the hour of dinner, which is always in the presence of one or two municipal officers, every look, word, or gesture of the unhappy prisoners is observed, interpreted, and frequently reported to the council general as having a mysterious meaning.

Among other circumstances equally unimportant, it was mentioned in one of the memorials of the committee, made a considerable time ago, that the king continued to wear his star and ribbons, which raised the petulance of the author of a daily journal, who, on the subject of this memorial, expresses himself in the following indecent terms.—' Si Louis avoit le sens commun, il auroit quitté lui-même toutes ces chamarrures féodales; il seroit aujourd'hui republicain, c'est à-dire, plus qu'on roi; car un roi n'est que le premier esclave de son empire.' * He

* If Lewis had common sense, he would of his own accord have thrown aside

then adds, that, so far from stripping him of them, it would be better, provided the nation allows him to live, to condemn him to wear those shameful emblems for life; and proposes that all who should be convicted of certain crimes should be sentenced to the same punishment,—and concludes,—'Qu'on les exposât aux regards du peuple bardés de cordons, et l'habit garni d'aigles, de pigeons, d'élephans, de moutons: les Romains ne dépouilloient pas les rois vaincus des attributs de la royauté; ils les en revêtoient au contraire avec grand soin, et cela pour cracher dessus.' *

The council general however saw this in a different point of view. Eager to display a contempt for aristocracy, and constantly asserting that the people in general detest monarchy, they cannot help often betraying a dread of the first, and a suspicion that the nation still retains its old affection for the second—they seem afraid of every thing that puts them in mind of either. Manuel was ordered to go to the Temple, and announce to the king, that as royalty was abolished, there was no propriety in his wearing his former ornaments any longer. The dialogue which passed between the king and Manuel on this occasion, has been published in some of the journals, probably by Manuel himself: even from this account it appears, that the king received this message with that manly indifference, and undisturbed resignation, which he has shewn since the beginning of his misfortunes. I have always heard that Lewis XVI never was much affected by the magnificence of royalty, even when he possessed it in its highest splendour; he seems now to be as little affected by the loss of it; and the malice of his enemies,

aside all those feudal trappings; he would by this time have become a republican, which is being greater than a king; for a king is only the highest slave in his own dominions.

* Let them be exposed to the view of the people, covered with ribbons, and their clothes trimmed with eagles, pigeons, elephants, and sheep: the Romans did not strip the vanquished kings of the emblems of royalty. On the contrary, they carefully dressed them in them for the purpose of spitting on them.

displayed in these paltry instances, instead of throwing disgrace on the monarch, renders his good qualities more conspicuous.

November 16.

In a work published some years ago,* I endeavoured to give an idea of that enthusiastic attachment and affection, which the French of those days had, or pretended to have, for their monarchs.

They spoke of loyalty as a quality of the mind, like generosity or courage: they seemed proud to think that they possessed this quality, if not exclusively, at least in a higher degree than any other people; and every Frenchman wished to be thought loyal, as every man wishes to be thought generous or brave. They seemed even to consider it as a virtue, which ought to be cherished in the breast of the subject, independent of the good qualities, and in spite of the bad qualities, of the sovereign; and they were vain to point out to strangers how far their countrymen surpassed all others in the exercise of it.

An English officer, after having passed some days at Versailles during the reign of Lewis XV, supped in company with several French gentlemen on the evening that he returned to Paris. The conversation turned on the great attachment and affection of the French nation to their monarchs; and one of the company understanding that the court had been greatly crowded, and that many people of distinction from Paris had been at Versailles during the officer's residence there, asked him if he had not been surprised at seeing such marks of loyalty.

'No,' replied the officer, 'I should have been surprised if I had not seen them.'

'To be sure,' resumed the Frenchman, 'the king is the most amiable man in the world, and it is quite natural that all the world should love him.'

'That is indisputable,' said the officer; 'but I was thinking of other reasons which those I saw so assidu-

* View of Society and Manners in France, &c.

ously paying their court to the king might have, and which are sufficient to account for all the zeal and attachment they displayed.'

The other affected not to understand him, and asked with great politeness what other reasons they could have.

'Why,' replied the officer, 'has not the king governments, and regiments, and bishopricks, and many other very beneficial things to bestow? I should imagine that this consideration might render the king an object of great attention, and produce many marks of zealous attachment to his person, even although he were not quite the most amiable man in the world, as all the world allow him to be.'

'Be assured, sir,' rejoined the Frenchman, 'that there is no people on earth who have such a veneration for their kings, and so much disinterested loyalty as the French.'

'Forgive me,' said the officer, 'I know a people who can dispute those qualifications with them, and whose courtiers give stronger proofs of veneration and loyalty to their prince than even those of Versailles.'

'What people?'

'The subjects of the emperor of Morocco,' replied the officer: 'there is a monarch for you, gentlemen, who hardly ever speaks to his subjects *qu'à coup de sabre*, and yet they venerate him in the most astonishing manner. When I was in garrison at Gibraltar, I passed over to his dominions, and had the honour of spending sometime at his court at Fez: one of this beloved monarch's morning amusements is shooting arrows at his subjects: when he chances to miss, which seldom happens, for by frequent practice he is an excellent marksman, the person at whom it is directed takes up the arrow, and with all the zeal of the most devoted courtier presents it on his knee to the emperor.

'On some occasions, he does his subjects the honour of cutting off their heads with his own hands, and is much

praised by the courtiers around for his dexterity: in short, they display every mark of attachment to his person, and may be said with truth to love their sovereign to distraction.—This is, gentlemen, what I call disinterested loyalty.' But now the French, at least all of them who remain in France, are as solicitous to declare that they never possessed this enthusiastic loyalty, as formerly they were anxious to have it thought they did; and as they began to disavow this principle during the reign of the most mild and most equitable monarch they ever had, as soon as his power began to be abridged, and continued to profess the most ardent loyalty towards the most oppressive and tyrannical of his predecessors while they retained their power, it is pretty clear on what that boasted loyalty was founded.

But as the men shew an abject and slavish disposition, who affect attachment and veneration for a foolish or wicked prince, so those on the other hand betray a malevolent and odious character, who are deficient in respect and gratitude to a mild and equitable monarch, who through the whole of his reign has manifested a love of justice, and an equal regard for the rights of his subjects and for his own prerogative.

The loyalty of a man of sense and spirit arises from a due respect for the first magistrate in the state, whose lawful authority he is ready to support for the good of the community, independent of every other consideration. To this sentiment of loyalty to the monarch as first magistrate, esteem for personal good qualities, if they exist, and gratitude for favours received, will be added in every well-formed mind. But these sentiments do not exclusively belong to loyalty, but are felt for every person of our acquaintance, who possesses great or amiable qualities, and from whom we have received favours. But the ostentatious indications of loyalty which are sometimes exhibited, proceed in the vulgar from a mere love of noise; in some of superior rank, from the desire of being looked on as the particular friends of the royal family unconnected with

any idea of their good qualities; and in many it is founded on a lucrative office in possession or in expectation.

November 17.

At the beginning of the revolution, when a veneration for the Christian religion was still pretty general in the minds of the people, a democratic abbé, with a view to inspire his audience with a detestation for aristocrates, assured them in his sermon that Jesus Christ was crucified by the aristocrates of Jerusalem.

Some people imagine that the same assertion made in a sermon now, would not produce the same horror in the minds of a French audience that it did three years ago, being of opinion that religious impressions are much weaker now than they were then.

One distinguishing doctrine of Christianity, namely, the forgiveness of injuries, seems to be greatly exploded, and considered rather as the effect of weakness than magnanimity: revenge, on the contrary, is applauded as a virtue, and proclaimed as a duty, and the people are stimulated to vengeance, on every real or supposed injury.

Those who excite the populace against the king, tell them, that his execution is necessary, to *avenge* the murder of their brethren in the Carousel of the 10th of August; and that the affairs of the nation cannot prosper, until their slaughter is amply *revenged*.

It was mentioned in the national assembly, that some of those patriots, while they lay expiring on the ground, had had the consolation of seeing the Swiss cut in pieces, before their eyes were entirely closed.

The new levies are assured by way of encouragement, that in case they should be killed in battle, they may make themselves perfectly easy, for that their deaths shall be fully revenged.

A poor woman was weeping bitterly for the death of her son, killed at the battle of Valmy: the soldier who had brought her the news endeavoured to comfort her,

saying,—'Consolez-vous, Marguerite, je vous reponds qu'il a été bien vengé.'*

At the civic feast, which took place on account of the conquest of Savoy, a new stanza was added to the hymn of the Marseillois, and was sung by a company of young boys on that occasion.—

Nous intrerons dans la carrière,
Quand nos aînés n'y seront plus :
Nous y trouverons leur poussière
Et la trace de leurs vertus.
Bien moins jaloux de leur survivre,
Que de partager leur cercueil,
Nous aurons le sublime orgueil
De les *venger* où de les suivre.
Aux armes, Citoyens !—Formez vos battalions !
Marchez !—Qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

I was at the convention lately, when a young officer belonging to the regiment of Beaurepaire appeared at the bar.

He had been at Verdun when the colonel shot himself: he spoke highly of that officer, by whom, he said, the garrison had been animated to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that they had resolved to be buried in the ruins of the town, rather than surrender: he gave an affecting account of the indignation and grief of the soldiers, when they found that the magistrates had capitulated, and were told of the catastrophe of their colonel: he said, he was deputed from his regiment, to demand vengeance on the traitors who had betrayed Verdun to the enemy, and driven their commander to despair. He read the names of those he accused, consisting of the magistrates of Verdun, and some of the field-officers of the national guards.

This young officer was handsome, and of a genteel figure: he spoke with fluency and grace; and what interested the audience greatly in his favour, was, that a letter from Dumourier was read, which informed the convention, that the regiment to which he belonged had be-

* Comfort yourself, Margaret, for I can assure you that he was well avenged.

haved remarkably well against the Prussians; and that the officer who brought the accusation had distinguished himself in a very gallant manner.

Some of the members began to talk of avenging the death of Beaurepaire on the heads of the persons accused by the officer; and the assembly seemed so much enraged against them, that I was afraid of their decreeing something very violent instantly—but one deputy, who had preserved coolness in the midst of all this emotion, shewed the impropriety of coming to any resolution against the accused citizens, in the present state of their minds, and begged that the accusation might be referred to the consideration of a committee.

This measure was at last adopted.

November 18.

There are eight or ten theatres for dramatic entertainments of one kind or other at present in Paris: most of them are open four times a-week. The pieces represented are generally new, and adapted to the spirit of the times, and to fortify the minds of the audience in sentiments favourable to the revolution. Kings and princes are represented as rapacious, voluptuous, and tyrannical; nobility as frivolous and unfeeling, fawning to the sovereign, and insolent to their fellow-subjects; priests as hypocritical, artful, and wicked. To inspire a hatred to monarchical government, and a love of republicanism, is one great object of almost every new piece—even in those comic pieces whose plots turn on an amorous intrigue, or some object equally remote from politics or forms of government, sentiments of the same tendency occur, and however awkwardly introduced they are sure of being received with applause. A strict adherence to the unities of time and place, and other critical rules, for which the French theatre was formerly distinguished, is now little attended to.

The dramatic writers hate fetters, as much as the sans-culottes, and sometimes despise decorum as much

I was lately at the theatre des Variétés: the piece was entitled *La Mort de Beaurepaire.*

The hero, on hearing that the magistrates of Verdun have delivered a gate of the town to the Prussians, shoots himself on the stage. The duke of Brunswick, surrounded by his guards, enters, and finds a French soldier lamenting over the body of his commander: while the duke is questioning him, another French soldier is brought in, who has just shot a Prussian officer in the street. The duke asks, who bribed him to commit this assassination? The soldier replies,—'That he needed no bribe to determine him to destroy the enemies of his country; that he had no part in the infamous capitulation, by which the Prussians were permitted to enter Verdun; that he had mistaken the officer he had killed, for the duke himself, and highly regrets the mistake.'—The soldier in his turn demands of the duke, 'who had bribed *him* to invade a country which had renounced conquest, and to make war on a people, who wished only to be governed by laws of their own making, under a form agreeable to their own taste?' The duke makes some reply to this, and the dispute becomes warm; but although the soldier is represented as having by much the best of the argument, he is ordered to immediate execution. It appears soon after, that on his way he has leaped over a bridge, and by that means escaped a more painful death. The first soldier concludes the piece, by assuring the duke, that he will make nothing of his present enterprise, which he had best relinquish in time; for *the shortest follies are the soonest remedied.*

Many little dramas are daily exhibited on the Boulevards, to the same tendency, and ballads are sung in the streets and public walks: one is entitled, Comparaison du Régime Ancien avec le Nouveau; the last stanza is as follows.—

Jadis, quand pour l'armée un fils partoit,
Sa bonne mere tout aussi-tot pleuroit,
Et le retirer elle ne pouvoit;
C'étoit régime despote.

Aujourd'hui, l'on voit toutes les mamans
Faire le paquet, armer leurs enfans,
Et les envoyer servir dans les camps;
Vive un régime patriote.

The two following stanzas are from another, which is much relished by the people.—

Savez-vous la belle histoire
De ces fameux Prussiens?
Ils marchoient à la victoire
Avec les Autrichiens;
Au lieu de palme de gloire
Ils ont cueilli des—raisins.
Le Grand Frédéric s'échappe;
Prenant le plus court chemin;
Mais Dumourier le ratrappe,
Et lui chante ce refrain:
N'allez plus mordre à la grappe
Dans la vigne du voisin.

A writer in one of the journals observes, that small springs are capable of moving great machines; and that popular ballads have had considerable influence in the revolutions of nations; he adds,—'La chanson des Marseillois éclaire, inspire, et réjouit à la fois. Je conclus à ce que l'on attache quatre chanteurs à chacune de nos armées. Faire notre révolution en chantant, est un moyen presque sûr de l'empêcher de finir par de chansons.'*

What truth is in this observation, is not worth examining; but, if the termination of the French revolution depends on the good humour and humanity with which it has of late been carried on, it will have a dismal ending.

November 19.

Marat has kept himself concealed for some time, but his journal is continued as usual. He dates it from a subterraneous habitation (d'un Souterrain); in which, he says, he is obliged to bury himself alive, that he may be safe

* The song of the Marseillois at once enlightens, inspires, and rejoices. I therefore move, that four good singers shall be appointed to each of our armies. To accomplish our revolution with gaiety and good humour, is one sure way to prevent its ending in a song.

from the daggers of assassins. And why am I obliged to hide myself? he asks of the people, to whom his journal is addressed.—' O peuple, que je chéris, que je porte dans mon cœur, pour avoir pris votre défence, pour avoir été votre ami, &c. &c.' *

It seems extraordinary, to address the mob of Paris in the style of a lover to his mistress; but it is still more extraordinary, that a mob, who have given such proofs of ferocity, should be deluded by the language which seduces a fond girl.

The general turn of his journal, however, is not in the same tender strain, even since he dated from below ground. The manner in which he vindicates himself from the accusation of being sanguinary, will be thought curious.—

' Le grand cheval de bataille de mes détracteurs est de me peindre comme un homme sanguinaire, qui est sans cesse à prêcher le meurtre et l'assassinat. Mais je les défie de faire voir autre chose dans mes écrits, si ce n'est que j'ai demontré la nécessité d'abatre quelques centaines de têtes criminelles pour conserver trois cent mille têtes innocentes.' †

In his journal of this day is the following paragraph.—' Je ne croirai à la republique, que lorsque la tête de Louis Capet ne sera plus sur ses épaules, et que les soldats de la liberté ne seront plus menés à la boucherie par des généraux courtisans.' ‡

In the midst of all the success of Dumourier, this man exclaims against him for having permitted the Prussians to escape out of France; and he writes in the same style

* O people, whom I love, who are always nearest my heart, for having always been your friend and advocate.

† The great aim of my detractors is to paint me as a sanguinary man, who is always preaching murder and assassination. But I defy them to point out any thing in my writings, unless that I have demonstrated the necessity of cutting off a few hundred criminal heads to preserve three hundred thousand innocent ones.

‡ I shall never think the republic established, until the head of Lewis Capet is no longer on his shoulders, and until the soldiers of liberty shall be no longer led to slaughter by generals who are courtiers.

of the other generals, whom he describes as men of aristocratic principles, and enemies of the people; and adds whatever he thinks most likely to excite the populace against Louvet, Barbaroux, Gensonnet, Guadet, Buzot, Vergniaud, Kersaint, and all the faction Rol-Brissotine, as he denominates them. But what may lead to more extensive mischief than all the rest is the drift of the motto of his journal.—'Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis:' that is to say,—'Take the money from the rich, that it may be restored to the poor.' This plainly prompts to universal pillage: and perhaps the wickedness of faction never was pushed farther than in the protection given to such an incendiary as this Marat; for, notwithstanding all the public disavowals that have been made, that he is powerfully protected seems to me evident.—He dates from a cellar, but every body believes he is now living at his ease in very good quarters above ground; and nobody can doubt, but that it would be a very easy matter to discover them, if it were thought safe and prudent to seize the man. But they cannot even suppress his journal; it is cried every night in the Palais Royal: a little boy came bawling after me with it, as I returned home a few nights ago,—'Journal par Marat, l'ami du peuple!—combien en voulez-vous, citoyen Anglais? Journal par l'ami du peuple!—Ah, c'est bien intéressant aujourd'hui—vous en prendrez deux ou trois n'est-il pas vrai, mon cher Milord?'

November 20.

It is most unpleasant to observe how little sensation the cruel state in which the royal family is occasions in Paris, and how small a part of general conversation it occupies: as for the lowest mob, they never mention them but with some foul epithet of abuse. This does not surprise me, because they are either hired for the purpose, or, like all mobs, join in the cry that is suggested, and press blindly on, according to the impulse given by

others; I speak not therefore of them, but of the other ranks of society.

Whatever people's sentiments are with regard to the revolution, whether they are what is here called aristocrates, or democrates, one should think that so severe a reverse of fortune, and one so unexampled in the political state in which Europe has so long been, would occasion more general sympathy. That this sympathy should not be displayed in public, is easily accounted for; but even in private and confidential conversations, where no reserve is used on topics equally dangerous, the misfortunes of the royal family seem to be felt in a very slight manner, by some who might have been expected to feel them most severely.

What an affecting contrast does this indifference and neglect make with the obsequious attention, almost to adoration, which was paid to this family by the whole French nation; with the emulation and unwearied assiduity of all ranks to captivate their notice and gratify their wishes; with the protestations of esteem, respect, and affection they have been accustomed to hear from their childhood!

All those external marks of veneration were accompanied, no doubt, with the strongest assurances of their being the offspring of genuine sentimental preference, bestowed on personal virtues, uninfluenced by any expectation from their power, and purified from all selfish consideration.

The cannon of St. Antoine, and the sabres of the Marseillois, exterminated the virtues of the king on the 10th of August; and every day of his imprisonment in the Temple seems to have added some new article to a list of vices of which he is now accused, and which were never heard of before. I never see a man in the conventional assembly, or elsewhere, eager to distinguish himself by violent sallies against the king and his unfortunate family, but I imagine I behold a wretch who would be the

most abject of his courtiers, if, by an unexpected turn of affairs, the monarch were re-established on the throne. Nor did I ever know any men, who were distinguished for adopting the prejudices, abbetting the caprices, and affecting wonderful attachment to the persons of princes in the fulness of power, without suspecting that they would be the most turbulent demagogues, and the bitterest enemies of those very princes, if by any accident they should ever be in the same situation with the royal family of France

November 21.

When a man, who, from his situation in life, or from the commission he enjoys, is guarded from retaliation, treats another, who is in his power, with insolence or cruelty, it naturally excites feelings of indignation and contempt. When an inferior behaves with insolence to his superior, a blackguard, for example, to a gentleman in the streets of London, it raises disgust, but not contempt, as in the former instance, because the blackguard *may* run some risk,—he is not absolutely sure of impunity.

It was natural to suppose, that the imprudent introduction of the term *égalité* would produce an universal insolence among the lower classes of people in France towards their superiors: and I am still convinced it will in process of time be the case; but I confess I have not hitherto remarked any disagreeable instance of this nature. No person, indeed, of whatever rank, is allowed to dress his footmen in livery, but every one is allowed to have as many footmen as he pleases; and when L. L.'s carriage was driving, a day or two since, in at the gate of the Louvre, it was stopped by the sentinel, who had observed that the hammercloth had fringes of a different colour, and informed his lordship, that such a kind of distinction was no longer permitted in France, being contrary to that égalité which every Frenchman had sworn to. The coachman had been ordered never to use any but a plain cloth; but, having a fringed one in his possession, of which he

was very vain, he had ventured to adorn his coach-box with it on this unfortunate day. As the poor fellow was taking it off with a very mortified air, the valet de place reproached him for having put it on; which the sentinel overhearing, said angrily to the coachman,—'Il sied bien à un gueux comme toi d'être aristocrate.' *

A few days since I saw a man dressed in the uniform of a general officer come up to a poor fellow, who, with a pike in his hand, stood sentinel at a gate, and, addressing him by the name of '*citoyen soldat*,' asked him the way to a particular street.

The pikemen were formerly considered as of a rank inferior to the national guards, who are armed with muskets: but of late they are put on a footing, and do duty together; but still it might have been expected that this gentleman's rank in the army would have commanded the strongest marks of respect from a common soldier, if his laced coat failed to produce them in a poor fellow almost in rags.

'Tenez, mon camarade,' said the pikeman: 'you will first turn to the right, and then walk on straight until,' &c.

The officer having heard the directions, returned thanks to the citoyen soldat, and, moving his hat, walked away.

November 22.

Sometime since I was walking with a man, who has the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the national guards. Seven or eight men belonging to his battalion came up to him with a complaint; they pretended that injustice had been done to their company, in the arrangements respecting the duty; and they also complained of some other grievances. The person they had chosen to speak for them seemed to be of rather a fiery temper; and he stated the grievances with more heat and less ceremony than I had been accustomed to see soldiers use when address-

* It well becomes a beggar like you to give yourself the airs of an aristocrate.

ing their officers. The lieutenant-colonel on his part heard the complaints with attention and coolness; only saying, from time to time, as the orator proceeded,—'Tu as raison, tu as raison, mon ami'—and gave no other interruption or answer, till he had quite finished. The officer then began with the phrase he had already used so frequently,—'Tu as raison, mon ami, cela est clair; but there is one point in which you are a little mistaken.'

This one point turned out to be the whole affair in question. The officer proceeded to put the business in a very different light; sometimes addressing himself to the orator, and sometimes to others of the circle; and in a short time convinced the whole, that what they asked was unreasonable, and dismissed them satisfied, and repeating '*Le colonel a raison.*'

When they were gone, he said to me smiling,—'This is my constant method, when they come with an unreasonable request: I hear them with patience; and after I have acknowledged two or three times that they are in the right, they allow me quietly to convince them that they are in the wrong:—whereas, were I to tell them at once they were in the wrong, they would think me unjust; but not that they themselves were unreasonable.

'When their complaint is well-founded,' continued the officer, 'and in my power to remedy, there is no need of reasoning; I get the grievance redressed as soon as possible, and am happy it is in my power.'

'All this,' said I, 'will do very well in civil life; but I should hardly think it would answer in the military, where subordination and implicit obedience are so necessary.'

To this the officer answered,—'That men who clothe themselves and serve without pay, cannot be treated with the same severity as soldiers who are paid and clothed by the public. It is rather to be wondered at that so many poor tradesmen and day-labourers all over France submit to lose the profit of their work for one day, and sometimes two, in a week, bear so much fatigue, and perform the

military duty required of them, so cheerfully as they do. When those men are ordered to the frontiers, and obliged to perform the duty of soldiers every day, they then receive pay, and are subjected to a severer discipline.'

'I cannot help thinking,' resumed I, 'that a general, who commands soldiers who are taught to obey without thinking, has a great advantage over one whose army must be reasoned with. The duke of Brunswick has only to issue his orders, and he is as sure of being obeyed, as I am certain this watch will strike when I press the spring,' continued I, making the watch, which I held in my hand, repeat the hour; 'whereas, I understand, that Dumourier is often obliged to convince his soldiers *qu'il a raison*, before they will execute his orders.'

'The temper and national character of the soldiers must be considered by the general who commands them,' resumed the officer: 'Frenchmen would be dispirited, rendered good for nothing, or would desert, if they were treated with as much severity as German and Russian soldiers. I am of opinion, that the introduction of the punishment of the cane (coups des batons) was one reason of the defection of the army at the beginning of the revolution. I know that many regiments were quite disgusted with that practice. The French and Germans are as different animals as greyhounds and foxhounds; they accomplish the destruction of their enemy by different endowments, and require a very different treatment.'

'I do not wish to depreciate the merit of Dumourier,' continued the officer; 'but I must observe, that the disadvantage you mention might be compensated by that enthusiasm, which in the present emergency acts on the minds of French soldiers with an energy beyond the force of any mechanical spring. Besides, you must recollect, that it has always been the custom in France to inlist soldiers for three or four years only; for which reason, great numbers of young tradesmen and labourers choose to go and serve during that time in the army; after which, they return to their trades and villages, where

their adventures in the army are a source of conversation to themselves, and of admiration to their wives and children for the rest of their lives; and when the whole country is called forth, as on the present occasion, there are among the recruits of every department a considerable number of old soldiers, who not only instruct the new men in the essential parts of the exercise, but also give them an example of regularity and obedience; so that the hasty levies with which Dumourier was reinforced at St. Menehould were not entirely raw recruits.

November 23.

In keeping this journal, my object was not to confine myself to the public events which take place in this country at this critical period, but to give also some idea of the effect which these events have on the manners and sentiments of the people, which I imagine is better done by relating facts and incidents, than by general description. With this view, I mention the following, which occurred to an English gentleman and lady of my acquaintance. Hearing there was to be a debate on an important subject in the convention, the gentleman hired two persons to go early and keep places for them in the front of the gallery opposite to the president. The gentleman and lady went themselves an hour after. A sentinel who was placed within the gallery, told them there was no room. They said that two persons in the front would yield them their places, and the two persons rose accordingly and offered to withdraw; but the people in the gallery objected to the new comers taking their places, which, they said, naturally belonged to those who sat nearest. The Englishman appealed to the sentinel.—'Ma foi, citoyen,' said the sentinel,' 'l'affaire est un peu épineuse;' 'you must let it be judged by the company.'

This is the usual way on all disputes in the galleries; a jury is immediately formed of the people nearest, who decide by the plurality of votes, and their verdict is always obeyed.

The Englishman then asked of the company, whether the two persons whom he had sent to the gallery had not a right to keep their places. It was unanimously agreed that they had; but that, if they retired, the two who sat nearest them had a right to the places they left; and so every couple might advance in succession; and that those who came last must be content with the worst places, till new vacancies occurred. 'But,' resumed the Englishman, 'I have paid those two men for keeping places for this lady and me, and that we should have them is surely founded on justice.'—'Mais non pas sur l'*égalité*,' said one of the jury; to which opinion all the rest adhered.

'You see, citizen,' resumed the sentinel, 'that the cause is given against you, and there is no more to be said.'

It is not surprising that this idea of equality is very favourably received by the lowest order of society, particularly according to the sense in which many of them understand it; and I make no manner of doubt but that there are men of acknowledged dulness, and women decidedly ugly, who would rejoice in a decree for an equality of genius and beauty, and who, to that variety in which nature delights, would prefer an insipid monotony of talents and looks all over the world. But until nature shall issue such a decree, the decrees of all the national conventions on earth to establish égalité will be vain. Were equality decreed by the universal consent of mankind this year, there would be inequality of riches and importance all over the earth the next.

November 24.

As I walked to-day on the terrace of the Feuillans, which is contiguous to the hall of the national assembly, I observed a young man standing on a chair: at his side, there was a pike thrust into the ground, on the upper end of which a small board was fixed with this inscription.—*L'Apotre de la liberté.* A crowd surrounded him,

to whom he harangued in praise of the glorious revolution of the 10th of August, and of the patriots to whom France owed its liberty, which he asserted to be those determined men who were on the preceding night appointed to be of the general council of the commune, and not the Brissots, Vergniauds, Guadets, Buzots, and still less Louvet the calumniator of Robespierre. He said that all these men, with Roland at their head, were doing every thing they could to save the life of Louis Capet, the various instances of whose perjury he attempted to prove, as well as his ingratitude to the nation, which had behaved so generously to him. 'But,' he added, 'Lewis the traitor has now filled up the measure of his treachery so high, that even his friends in the assembly could not deny his guilt, though they were striving with all their cunning to save his life.'

This fellow was evidently hired to animate the populace against Roland and his friends, and make them consider every attempt to postpone or evade the condemnation of the king as a proof of their aristocracy and treachery. No sovereign that every reigned has had more pains taken to mislead and impose upon his judgment than the peuple souverain who at present governs France; and being naturally of a thoughtless and giddy character, it is no wonder he falls into the snares which are so artfully laid for him.

November 25.

That spirit of hatred and accusation which prevails in the convention, has extended to the generals of the armies, and seems to augment daily in this place.

Some weeks ago, Custine, in a letter which was read in the assembly, accused Kellermann of negligence, or something worse, in having permitted the Prussians and Hessians to escape out of France, and reach Coblentz.

He asserted, that if Kellermann had passed the Mozelle and the Sarre, he would have made himself master of Treves and Coblentz with little difficulty; and he

referred to statements which he sent at the same time, to prove the truth of his accusation.

The commissioners who had been in Kellermann's army, and had seen the correspondence between him and Custine, declared that it would have been highly imprudent in the former to have joined Custine with his cavalry at Treves at the time it was demanded.

When Custine sent this letter to the convention, he wrote at the same time to Kellermann informing him of it. Kellermann also wrote to the convention, and has this expression in his letter.—*Les inculpations de Custine n'ont pu être écrites que dans le vin.**

On this occasion, it happens fortunately that those generals are particularly attached to neither party. If they were, their military skill, as well as their patriotism, would be estimated, as is the case in other countries, according to the political party to which they belonged; and he, who was esteemed a good general by one set of men because he was of their party, would have been called a bad one by another for that very reason.

But as in this instance the spirit of party has not interfered, both are spoken of as good officers and faithful servants to the public, and their misunderstanding is universally regretted.

A member in the convention having spoken highly of the recent successes of Custine, another immediately observed, that if the successes of Custine, which were immediately before their eyes, had enlarged their external dominions, Kellermann's victory on the 20th of September had saved the interior parts of France.—This was equally applauded by both parties.

In consequence of Custine's accusation, Kellermann was called from his army, and has been for some time in Paris. He is by birth a German, and served for many years in the German armies. I have been several times in company with him. Once, when several deputies were present, he could not abstain from speaking with in-

* The accusation of Custine must have been made in his cups.

dignation of the accusation of Custine, which gave him no otherwise uneasiness, he said, than as it obliged him to remain inactive at Paris, while the brave army he had commanded were in the field. Kellermann is a man of plain manners conveying the idea of sincerity, and whose talents are calculated to render him much more brilliant at the head of an army than in conversation. There is no doubt of his being soon restored to his command.

November 26.

In a company of bourgeois, a person was lamenting yesterday the fatal effects which might happen from discord; but added, he understood that the two political parties were on the point of uniting.

On which a chemist who was present, shaking his head said, he questioned it very much: 'because,' continued he, 'since fear did not compress them together when the Prussian and Austrain armies were advancing into the heart of the country, there is little probability that such heterogeneous substances will unite by elective attraction.'

However pedantic the chemist's language may be thought, his argument seems just.—Every day, I am more and more confirmed in the opinion, that the animosity between the two parties will never end but in the destruction of one of them; and some people think that Roland and his party would have been overset before now, had it not been for the fédérés, particularly those from Marseilles, who are now at Paris.

The effect which their name has on the minds of the suburb sans-culottes is wonderful—this greatly vexes Marat. In one of his journals, he insinuates that Dumourier exposed the Parisian battalions at the battle of Jemmappe, more than the rest of the army, on purpose to have them destroyed; and that this was done in compliance with the directions he received from Roland, Brissot, and that party. His words are,—Pour assurer le succès de leurs projets ambitieux, ces tyrans ont en-

levés notre bouillante jeunesse, toujours la première à marchier contre les suppôts du despotisme, et à former une barriere autour des defenseurs du peuple.' He afterwards mentions what this bouillante jeunesse consisted of—'nos-forts-de-la-halle,' continues he, 'nos charbonniers, nos cochers de place.'

Those who have seen Marat, and are acquainted with the manners and sentiments of Chabot, Legendre, Merlin de Thionville, and some other of his coadjutors, will not be surprised at their having some partiality to hackney coachmen, colliers, and whatever is rough and vulgar.

A writer of great ingenuity and eminence regrets, that 'we shall never more behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom;' and adds, that with these are also fled 'that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage while it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which *vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness*.'

Notwithstanding the splendid elegance and force of this passage, the concluding sentiment has been censured. No man however can with less reason than the honourable gentleman above alluded to, be supposed to mean this as a palliative for vice of any kind; and it is most certain, that in general society, politeness is a convenient substitute for benevolence, and that when rude and polished men are equally vicious, the latter are always less disgusting and sometimes less mischievous than the former. A savage, when he hates a man, or has violent desire for a woman, will murder the one and ravish the other: in polished society, a man with the same passions will do neither. It is equally true, that a great deal of the grossness of vice may be removed, without a grain of its intrinsic wickedness being removed with it. The courtier, who, in elegant terms, professes friendship to the man he

is endeavouring to supplant, and politely caresses those he means to betray, exhibits as much genuine vice as the most vulgar footpad that ever knocked a man down, or informed against his accomplice.

All the refinement of courts cannot alter the nature of falsehood, ingratitude, or treachery; nor can all the perfumes of the East sweeten the corruption of vice. On the whole, though polish in some cases renders vice less mischievous than it would otherwise be, in other cases it may make it more dangerous by being more attractive; like furbishing the knife of a child, which does least harm when rusty, and is most dangerous when brilliant.

The deputies above mentioned, and others of the convention, cannot have this laid to their charge; their nauseous manners and debasing sentiments exhibit vice in its native deformity.

November 27.

Assertions frequently and boldly repeated seldom fail to make an impression on the minds of the populace, and at length to gain belief, in spite of the most clear and rational evidence of their falsehood.

Marat has been exciting the people to mutual rancour, to pillaging, and cutting each other's throats, since the beginning of the revolution; but he assures them in all his speeches, and he tells them every morning in his journal, that he is l'ami du peuple!—and the populace believe them.

It is universally known, that the Girondists exculpate the citizens of Paris from the horrid crimes of September; whereas Robespierre, St. André, Tallien, Chabot, Bazire, and all that party, assert, that the massacres were committed by the people. But as, at the same time, St. André always calls them 'le bon peuple,' Marat says 'he carries them in his heart,' and Robespierre declares 'he would willingly sacrifice his life for them,' the populace consider this faction as their friends, and look on Roland and the Girondists as their calumniators.

It is also notorious, that Roland, Claviere, Gensonnet, Guadet, and the other leaders of that party, are republicans; that they made open attempts to establish that form of government, at the time the king was brought back from Varennes; that Robespierre, Danton, and many of their friends opposed it, and declaimed in the Jacobin society against it, and in favour of monarchy. Yet, as the favouring of monarchy is now considered as the greatest of all crimes, those very persons accuse the Girondists of that crime, and of being determined enemies to the republic; which assertions, by dint of repetition, begin to be believed; and Roland, Brissot, Guadet, and the whole of that party, are of course becoming daily less popular.

In a small company, a few days since, a person remarked,—' That the great fondness which Robespierre, Danton, and some others, shewed for a republican form of government, was of a very late date; and that al though they displayed such deadly rancour against Lewis XVI, by whom they thought they never could be forgiven, yet they had no hatred to monarchy, provided they could have a king of their own choosing.

Another of the company observed,—' That he could not believe that so fierce and insolent a spirit as Danton would bear to see any king established in France.'

' I am convinced, however,' said a third, ' that he would like well enough to see M. Egalité on the throne.'

' Remember,' resumed the first speaker, ' what Benserade said, when he was told that a certain lady was fond of the duc de la Vantadour, who was the ugliest man in France,—' Parbleu, si elle aime celui-la, elle en aimera bien un autre.' *

November 28.

It is not surprising, that a people of great sensibility, and naturally versatile, should fly from one extreme to

* If she can love him, she will soon love another.

another; yet one would hardly have expected that republican manners would have been much to the taste of the French nation.

There is however in Paris, at present, a great affectation of that plainness in dress, and simplicity of expression, which are supposed to belong to republicans. I have sometimes been in company, since I came last to Paris, with a young man, of one of the first families in France, who, contrary to the wishes and example of his relations, is a violent democrate. He came into the box where I was last night at the playhouse; he was in boots, his hair cropt, and his whole dress slovenly: on this being taken notice of, he said,—'That he was accustoming himself to appear like a republican.' It reminded me of a lady, who being reproached with having a very ugly man for her lover, said,—*C'est pour m'accoutumer à la laideur de mon mari.**

They begin to *tutoyer* each other, that is, to use in conversation the singular pronoun *tu*, instead of the plural *vous*, as the Romans did, and the quakers do. They have substituted the name Citoyen for Monsieur, when talking to or of any person; but more frequently, particularly in the national assembly, they pronounce the name simply, as Buzot, Guadet, Vergniaud. It has even been proposed in some of the journals, that the custom of taking off the hat and bowing the head should be abolished, as remains of the ancient slavery, and unbecoming the independent spirit of free men; instead of which they are desired, on meeting their acquaintance in the street, to place their right hand to their heart as a sign of cordiality.

All this appears a little premature. If the republic is permanent new manners will gradually be introduced, and a new national character will of course be formed; but so very sudden a change of decoration is too much in the style of a harlequin entertainment to be durable. The example of the Greeks and Romans is, in my opinion, too

* It is to accustom myself to the ugliness of my husband.

often held out; and when I hear the names of Lycurgus and Brutus and Cato repeated in the convention, it raises recollections which are not favourable to those legislators and patriots to whose debates I am listening. One of the best observations I have seen in any of Marat's journals, is the following.—After sneering at some of the deputies, on account of their high pretensions to patriotism, he adds,—'These are the men, who are on every slight occasion telling us, 'Souvenez-vous que nous sommes républicains, que tout ce qui n'est pas grand et sublime n'est pas digne de nous.'—Messieurs, soyez d'abord honnêtes gens: après cela, vous serez des Camille, des Regulus, des Catons, si vous le pouvez.'*

David, the celebrated painter, who is a member of the convention and a zealous republican, has sketched some designs for a republican dress, which he seems eager to have introduced; it resembles the old Spanish dress, consisting of a jacket with tight trowsers, a coat without sleeves above the jacket, a short cloak, which may either hang loose from the left shoulder or be drawn over both: a belt to which two pistols and a sword may be attached, a round hat and feather, are also part of this dress, according to the sketches of David; in which full as much attention is paid to picturesque effect as to conveniency. This artist is using all his influence, I understand, to engage his friends to adopt it, and is in hopes that the municipality of Paris will appear in it at a public feast, or rejoicing, which is expected soon. I said to the person who gave me this account, 'that I was surprised that David, who was so great a patriot, should be so anxious about an object of this kind.'

He answered, 'that David had been a painter before he was a patriot.'

Part of this dress is already adopted by many; but I

* Remember that we are republicans, that nothing but what is great and sublime is worthy of us.—Pray, gentlemen, try in the first place to be honest men: after that, each of you may become a Camillus, a Regulus, or a Cato, if he can.

have only seen one person in public completely equipped with the whole; and as he had managed it, his appearance was rather fantastical. His jacket and trowsers were blue; his coat, through which the blue sleeves appeared, was white with a scarlet cape; his round hat was amply supplied with plumage; he had two pistols stuck in his belt, and a very formidable sabre at his side: he is a tall man, and of a very warlike figure; I took him for a major of dragoons at least: on inquiry I find he is a miniature painter.

November 29.

General Kellermann is restored to his command, and is to set out for the army in a few days: having heard that he was to be at the Jacobin society last night, I went there.

The general made a short speech, importing that he had come to take his leave of the friends of the people previous to his leaving Paris. The general is no orator, nor did he attempt eloquence; what he said, however, was applauded. One of his friends rose, and demanded that he might be received as a member into the society: this proposal occasioned a murmur, which surprised me after the applause with which the general himself had been heard.

I soon understood from those around me, that this manner of proposing a member was contrary to the rules of the society; that if he wished to be admitted, he ought to have made the proposal himself, since he was present, and not by deputation. One of the members whispered the general, who imediately rose, and asked the favour of being received as a member of the society.

Still there was a demur and whispering through the hall. I heard some who were near me say, that the usual formalities ought not to be dispensed with, it was a bad precedent; others might expect to be admitted in the same manner: It was unworthy of republicans to pay any regard to his rank in the army, &c, &c.

The general rose again, and declared, that he had not been acquainted with the particular forms of the Jacobin society of Paris, otherwise he would have strictly observed them in the application he made; that perhaps it was too late, as he should be obliged so soon to set out for the army; that he had imagined they might be the less necessary in his case, as he was already a member of the Jacobin society of Strasbourg, and had been sometimes honoured with the name of the Jacobin general. Cicero could have said nothing more persuasive than this. Kellermann was declared a member amidst the applause of all present.

The president gave him the kiss of fraternity, and made him a short address, the tendency of which was to wish him victory, and that he might spread the sentiments of liberty and equality among the superstitious slaves of Italy, and inspire the subjects of the Pope with the sentiments of the Roman republic: he finished by exhorting the general not to allow his mind to be elated by the victories which he had already obtained, or those which the army of the republic might hereafter obtain under his command; but remember, that after them all, he must return to the condition of a private citizen, and be respected, not according to the rank he was raised to in the army, but according to his virtues, and the service he had rendered to his country.

Kellermann heard this admonition with the grave and respectful air of a timid student receiving instructions from a professor.

After this, a member of the society, whose face I had never seen, and whose name I do not remember, ascended the tribune, and made a tedious and disgusting harangue, to prove the right the nation has to try and condemn the king; representing all the arguments in favour of his inviolability as sophistical, and hinting that those who used them were traitors to their country: the orator added every thing that malice could suggest, to inflame the audience against the unfortunate monarch. Among

other assertions, unsupported by probability or proof, he said, 'that the king had gone from the Tuilleries to the assembly hall partly from fear of being wounded or killed during the attack which he had ordered to be made on the people, and partly with a view to point out the members he wished to be murdered by the Swiss, and by the chevaliers du poignard, whom he expected every moment to see enter the hall, reeking from the slaughter of the citizens. He represented the queen in the same light; and concluded that both merited an immediate and ignominious death:' at which some women in the galleries, who had shewn much satisfaction during the discourse, exclaimed, '*Oui, oui.*'

November 30.

When I returned from the Jacobins last night, I expressed to the person who had procured me admission, my surprise at the hesitation in receiving Kellermann as a member. 'I should have thought,' said I, 'that they would have been eager to admit a victorious general.'

'In my opinion they were in the right to hesitate,' he replied: 'no set of men are so apt to over-value themselves as those who are at the head of armies:—they talk of their victories as if they had been gained, like that of Samson, by the strength of one arm; whereas nothing is more certain than that victories are often obtained by the valour of the troops, in spite of the blunders of their generals. Kellermann,' continued he, 'did his duty at Valmy; so did every soldier of his army, in which it cannot be doubted there are at least an hundred who are as fit to command as he, and some of them in all probability more so:—and are those gentry to expect to be admitted into a society like that of the Jacobins, without observing the same form with others? No, no; such distinctions are dangerous to liberty, particularly when bestowed on the general of an army. Who was it,' continued he, 'that overturned the Roman republic? Julius Cæsar, the general of an army. Who dismissed the parliament

of England, and established military despotism? Oliver Cromwell, the general of an army. Who restored royalty in the same country? Monk, the general of an army.'

'Do you imagine,' said I, 'that little mortifications of this kind will prevent similar events from happening in France? All those who are at the head of your armies may not have the moderation of Washington.'

'We do not rely on the moderation of our generals,' answered he, 'but on the spirit of freedom which pervades the French armies, and will prove a check to the ambitious or treacherous views of their leaders. This spirit did not exist in any of the armies above mentioned. The army of Cæsar looked up to him, and to him only; at his order they marched with as little reluctance against the senate, as against the Gauls: the armies of Cromwell and Monk were so deceived and modelled, as to become the blind instruments of the will of their generals: the armies of France are more enlightened, and are organized in a different manner; they will follow their leaders against the foreign enemy, but not against their country. No general was ever more popular than La Fayette; yet he would have been arrested in the midst of his own army, if he had not fled; and if the convention thought proper, they could arrest Dumourier to-morrow in the middle of his, notwithstanding all his victories. But civil honours and distinctions would render the generals of armies more dangerous; and therefore, in civil society, they should be made to feel themselves on a level with their fellow-citizens, and obliged to submit to the same regulations in public societies with the other members. Every kind of particular distinction shewn to professional rank, or to birth, is unworthy of the independent spirit of republicans; 'and you might observe,' continued he, 'that when Citoyen Egalité entered and seated himself by you, his appearance produced no sensation:—no notice was taken of him.'

'Forgive me,' answered I, 'his entrance did produce a sensation; and if I had not before been acquainted with

his person, I should have guessed it to be him, by an affectation which I remarked in those around, not to take notice of him.'

December 1.

Few things shock a stranger more on his first arrival in this country, than the unrelenting and indelicate style in which the queen is spoken of; and nothing seems more contrary to what was formerly considered as characteristic of the French nation. They have been often accused of paying so great an attention to politeness, that they neglected morality; they are now in danger of neglecting the first, without paying more attention to the second, and of losing every attribute of courtiers, except that of abandoning the unfortunate.

The report in the name of the committee of legislation, on the mode of conducting the king's trial, was read lately in the convention by Mailhe:—after which, he said,—'We have said nothing of Marie Antoinette; what right has she to have her case confounded with that of Lewis XVI? The lives of those women who have had the titles of queen of France were never considered as more inviolable or more sacred than those of other rebels or conspirators; therefore, in case you think proper to bring a decree of accusation against her, she will of course be tried by some of the ordinary criminal courts.'

As the mode of trying the king was the sole object submitted to the consideration of the committee, I was reflecting what could be this man's motive for departing from the subject of the report, on purpose to make this brutal attack on the queen; but when he had finished, and I heard the galleries resound with applause, I was no longer at a loss. As soon as the noise was over, I heard one of the deputies say to his neighbour,—'I should not be surprised, if she were condemned to occupy Madame de la Motte's vacant place at the Bicêtre.' *

* The person's name who made this harsh and indecent speech is in my original journal. I omit it here, because I afterwards knew of a very essential service which he rendered to an unfortunate emigrant.

But what surprised me more than any thing I have had occasion to observe on this subject, was a conversation I had at a coffeehouse, in the Palais-Royal, with a person I have sometimes accidentally met there. He is a man of a grave and respectable appearance, of about forty-five or fifty years of age, well-dressed, but rather in the style that was fashionable before, than since the revolution. He is not a member of the convention, but I had seen him there often, and had sometimes conversed with him. I took him for a man of moderation and humanity; he now convinced me how much I had been mistaken. I asked him a question concerning the intended trial of the king,—there was nothing remarkable in his answer. I then said something expressive of sympathy for the deplorable situation of the queen: his eyes kindled, and his countenance altered at the name; the mention of the queen affected him as that of chivalry did Don Quixote; his discourse, from that of a man of sense, became the ravings of a madman; he poured out the most illiberal torrent of rancorous abuse against her that I ever heard; and concluded the whole with this horrid sentiment, which I translate literally.—'I hope *that* woman will be obliged to drink the full draught of misery which is poured out for her, to the very dregs.'

The rancour which in this country is manifested against the queen, is more violent and more unaccountable than even that which appeared in Scotland against Mary queen of Scots, though many circumstances concurred to create a jealousy in the minds of the people of Scotland against their sovereign, which do not exist in the other instance. Endowed with unrivalled beauty, and adorned with every elegant accomplishment, Mary had been accustomed to the splendour of a licentious court, over which presided an unprincipled woman, of whose politics, gallantry was a principal engine. She returned to her native country at a time when it was so overshadowed with fanatical gloom, that the inhabitants considered gaiety as sinful, and pleasure as a profanation.

Mary was of a religion which the Scottish nation held in

abhorrence: how could a people indure the varied ornamented robes of popery, in whose eyes the decent surplice of the church of England was detested, as a rag of the strumpet of Babylon, whose worship they suspected their young queen wished to introduce into her native country?

The manners of the court of Vienna were very different from those of the Louvre; and the character of Maria Theresa was the reverse of that of Catherine of Medicis.—That their queen was beautiful, and elegant, and gay: that she loved splendour, and was a Roman Catholic, were circumstances of a nature to gain, and not to alienate a people like the French.

Besides, the crimes imputed to Mary, whether true or false, were of a much deeper dye than any which calumny has ever laid to the charge of the queen of France. And although the fate of the former was most affecting and deplorable, yet the causes which brought it on are not uncommon. Mary fell the victim of hypocrisy, female jealousy, and political fear; whereas the sufferings of the queen of France are as contrary to policy as to humanity, and proceed from a people, who, before they could behave to her in the barbarous manner they did, must have renounced every amiable quality imputed to them by their friends, and adopted the disposition of which they are accused by their bitterest enemies.

December 2.

The most deplorable circumstance which distinguishes this revolution from others, is that when its original object was in a great measure obtained, order, tranquillity, and submission to law did not return. One revolution has been grafted on another; new alterations have been imagined, and executed by men more violent, and means more bloody, than the former; the populace, stimulated by unprincipled leaders, have committed all the excesses of revolted negroes, or of slaves who have burst from the galleys. At this moment, four years after the first insur-

rection, instead of the blessings of freedom, the unhappy people of France are, under the name of a republic, suffering more intolerable oppression than they ever did under the most despotic of their monarchs; and are at the same time exposed to the attacks of external enemies, whose number is daily increasing by the imprudent conduct of their new governors.

Of all the evils which have attended this extraordinary revolution, the most important to mankind in general, perhaps, is, that it weakens the indignation which every liberal mind naturally feels for despotism, and inclines them to submit to the awful tranquillity of methodized oppression, rather than risk such scenes of anarchy and carnage as have been of late exhibited in this country.

Yet it ought to be remembered, that despotism, though less savage, is more hopeless than anarchy, which contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction; whereas the pillars of despotism being artfully arranged for the support of each other, as well as of that of the general fabric, may stand for ages. Were it not for this circumstance, and if there were no choice but to live under arbitrary government, or to be exposed to the unrestrained ravages and cruelties of a frantic populace, perhaps the former would be preferred as the lesser evil.—For, in spite of the vitiating tendency of unlimited power on the human heart, history affords instances of perhaps one in a dozen of princes whose power was unlimited, and who yet preserved the virtues of humanity; whereas a mob is always furious, brutal, and cruel.

But heaven has not confined mankind to this miserable alternative; nor is every nation possessed of the impetuosity of the French, which at the first sensation of freedom, has hurried them headlong into excesses without any rational object—like the lunatic, who, having spoken the language of moderation, and announced a peaceable disposition, makes use of his liberty in attacking every body around, and fighting furiously, till, his strength being exhausted, he is again brought back to his fetters.

The emigration of the noblesse was most unfortunate; I speak of that which took place at the beginning of the revolution, when it was still safe for them to remain in their country; and not of those which have happened since, and were absolutely necessary for self-preservation: but it is more than probable that the necessity for these last emigrations arose from the unnecessary one which took place at first. Had all the noblesse remained, it cannot be imagined but that a body of men of the most extensive property must, in spite of the torrent of the times, have retained great influence, and prevented many of the disorders which have distracted this unhappy country. Numbers of the noblesse would have been elected into the assemblies, and thus have precluded some deputies who perhaps have been the cause of great mischief: by accommodating themselves in some degree to the prevailing opinions, they would have gradually rendered them more mild and conciliatory, and prevented that degree of acrimonious prejudice which at present prevails against the whole body of nobility. The earliest emigrants being considered as the instigators of a combination of foreign powers against France, as determined to re-establish the ancient government, and as filled with the most implacable desire of vengeance; the odium against them became stronger every day, and was by the populace, ever incapable of discrimination, extended to the whole class. The noblesse who remained in the country were daily provoked by new injuries from their countrymen within, and piqued by letters from those without, accusing them of meanness in submitting to the new order of things, and of cowardice for not joining the armies of the princes. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that many of them left their country. After the 10th of August, it became dangerous for any of them who had shewn themselves the friends of limited monarchy, and eager to support the constitution, to remain in France.

As for that party which is known by the name of Gi-

rondiste, and to which Roland, Brissot, Buzot, Condorcet, and many other deputies who do not come from the Gironde, bélong, they are certainly free from the dreadful guilt of the massacre of the prisoners; I am persuaded also, that they not only wished to save the life of the king, but that some of them have risked their own lives in the various measures they have used for that purpose: yet being acquitted of these, other charges of a highly criminal nature remain against them.

After the constitution was accepted by the king, and after they themselves had sworn to maintain it, they continued their efforts to overthrow it.

Judging of the king from what they thought must be his secret wish, and what, it is probable, they were conscious would have been their own conduct in his situation, they could never believe that he would remain faithful to the constitution; they were convinced that in his heart he abhorred it, and would seize the first opportunity to overturn it, to punish all who had any hand in establishing it, and to restore the ancient system with renewed force and augmented terror. They were convinced that the freedom of France could have no sure foundation but in a republic; and on this conviction, they scrupled not to use the most perfidious means to introduce that form of government.

They endeavoured to vilify the character of the king, with a view to render royalty odious and contemptible: they gave circulation to innumerable stories, to the prejudice of others of the royal family, which they either knew to be false, or had no proof of their being true.

On mere conjecture, they accused the king and queen of undermining the constitution to restore despotism, while they were conscious of undermining it themselves, on purpose to rear a republic. They involved their country in a war with the emperor, on pretexts which they knew to be groundless, and solely in the expectation that it would increase that jealousy of the king which already

existed, and give rise to incidents and circumstances on which plausible accusations against him and his ministers might be founded.

By those means, they rendered a benevolent prince, who was anxious for the welfare of his subjects, unpopular; by those means they produced the insurrection of the 20th of June, and prepared the minds of the populace for that of the 10th of August; and by making it be believed, that a prince of such a quiet, unambitious character as Louis XVI, could not remain satisfied with the power granted by the constitution, but was secretly conspiring to restore despotism, conveying the idea, that every one who could be placed on the throne would do the same, the French nation were tricked into a republican form of government, when there is great reason to believe that a vast majority would have preferred a limited monarchy.

December 3.

That fickleness of disposition which has been considered as the general characteristic of the populace of every nation, certainly belongs in a stronger degree, and more peculiarly to the French than to any other, and has appeared more perspicuously since the present revolution than it perhaps ever did before.

Nothing could surpass the popularity of Necker at one period. Although a stranger and a Protestant, the whole nation, fixing their eyes on him, seemed to exclaim, *Tu maximus ille es*—and to consider him as the only person who could save the country from ruin, and restore their affairs. A short time after he had been recalled by the united voice of the people, he began to be neglected, and is now almost forgotten.

La Fayette, who was adored, is now detested.

The popularity of Petion, which was in its meridian when we arrived in France, begins already to decline.

Orleans and others have had their moments of popu-

larity, which, as a genuine poet beautifully observes of pleasures, has had the fate

> Of snow that falls upon the river,
> A moment white—then melts for ever;
> Or like the borealis race,
> That flit ere you can point their place;
> Or like the rainbow's lovely form
> Evanishing amid the storm.*

The same fickleness which the French have displayed in a manner so striking, with respect to their favourites, at various periods of the revolution, is also conspicuous with regard to their taste in government. When the attempt was made to introduce a republican form, after the king's return from Varennes, it was rejected.

In the month of July last, a member of the national assembly declared, that he was as much against a republic being established in France, as a despotic monarchy; and he invited all that were of the same opinion, to avow it by standing up.

All the members instantly stood up

This happened in the month of July, and the national convention decreed the abolition of monarchy on the 21st of September.

I stated this to a member of the convention yesterday, as a proof that his countrymen were free from that stubbornness of which some people are accused.

He answered, 'that although he did not believe the change of opinion to be so universal as some wished to have it thought, yet he *did* believe, that there was a considerable change since the 10th of August, which he imagined was in a great measure owing to two causes.—First, the idea that prevailed, that the papers found in the king's cabinet on that day, and those lately discovered in the iron chest, in the wall in the palace, formed a convincing proof of the king's having conspired with the foreign enemy to betray the country. 'This,' he said, 'had raised a general indignation, and had reconciled

* Burns's Poems.

many minds to the idea of a republic, who formerly thought that form of government very unsuitable to France.

'A second cause which contributed to the same effect,' he said, 'was the prodigious success of their arms; which was in a great measure imputed to the energy which the idea of being republicans and freemen impressed on the minds of the French.'

I observed, 'that if this last consideration had any weight, it must entirely proceed from the inspiriting sentiment of freedom, and the French might have been free without being republicans.'

The person with whom I was conversing, being himself a republican, shook his head at this observation;—on which I added,—'It is equally certain, that they may be republicans without being free.'

Accounts of towns taken, battles gained, and success of every kind, are announced in the convention almost daily. Four standards taken from the Piedmontese were presented to them yesterday, by an aid-de-camp of General Anselme, sent from his army for that purpose; the colours were unrolled and displayed in the middle of the hall; the applause and shouting were of course loud and persevering. In his address to the assembly, the officer made use of some expressions which indicate pretty justly to what a height national vanity is mounted in this country; I translate them literally.

'Legislators, our enemies had the audacity to appear: Anselme shewed himself, and they fled as usual. Our army ardently desires to enter into the heart of Italy. Naples insults you, Rome excommunicates you, the king of Sardinia does not acknowledge you his conquerors: only give us the order, and all the crowns of the South shall be brought to your bar. Our soldiers declare, that each of them has a heart to bless your decrees, and two hands to execute them. The Romans in their degeneracy called out

* This person, who was attached to the party of Roland and Brissot, has had severe experience of the truth of this remark.

for bread, and public spectacles; the French, being regenerated, demand bread and the prosperity of the republic.'

The imperial eagle, which formerly stood on the top of the steeple of Namur, has been removed to Paris: it was placed on an open carriage, and drawn in the most ostentatious manner from the gate of the city to the door of the assembly hall, escorted by a party of dragoons, one of whom rode immediately before the carriage, holding a chain, the other end of which was around the eagle's neck.

I was at the convention when the commander of the party came to the bar, and addressing the assembly said, —' Legislateurs, Monsigneur l'Aigle Imperiale attend vos ordres.'

One deputy moved, that it should be placed, with the claws and beak cut off, on the top of the obelisk now erecting in the place de Victoire. Merlin of Thionville proposed that it should rather be hung by the legs from the same monument. Another desired that the eagle should be permitted to stand in his usual posture, but with the cap of liberty on his head.

These witticisms, such as they are, afforded great entertainment.

The prodigious torrent of success which has flowed on the republic of late, might have intoxicated a nation of soberer brains than the French. Had this produced no other effects than huzzas and processions in the streets, allusions to their victories, and self-praise in songs and declamations at the theatres, or the rhodomontades of a few orators in the convention, there would have been no great harm; but most unfortunately the intoxication has affected the judgment of a majority of the deputies, as evidently appears by the decision of the executive council of the 16th of November, sent to the French generals commanding the expedition to Brabant, to use every measure in their power to open the navigation of the Scheldt; and by the inconsiderate and rash decree of the 19th of November, by which the convention declares, ' au nom de la nation Françoise, qu'elle accordera fraternité et secours à

tous les peuples qui voudront recouvrir leur liberté;'* and likewise by charging the executive power to give the commanders of the French armies orders to protect the citizens of every country who may be disturbed or vexed for the cause of liberty.

Which is in effect telling the inhabitants of every country, that whenever they choose to rise in insurrection against their government, they will be assisted by the French.

So far from adhering to their former professions of a love of peace with all their neighbours, it is proclaiming a challenge to all Europe, and laying the foundation of everlasting war; for what country exists, or ever did exist, in which part of the inhabitants did not think that they laboured under inconveniences, which they might call vexations or infringements of their liberty? This decree therefore announces to all the people of Europe, that as often as any part of them chooses to rebel against their government, it will be supported by France. By a decree of the 27th of November, Savoy is declared an eighty-fourth department under the name of the department of Mont Blanc; which, contrary to their former declarations, renouncing every idea of conquest, is to all intents and purposes making a conquest, and evincing as great an ambition for extent of dominions as Lewis XIV, or any French monarch ever displayed; and, of course the republic will rouse the jealousy of Europe as much as he did.

December 4.

A committee had been appointed to examine certain papers, lately discovered in an iron chest, concealed in a cavity of the wall of the palace.

As a report was this day to be made to the convention concerning those papers, we went to the assembly to hear it, although we had previously determined to leave Paris early in the morning.

* In the name of the French nation, that they will assist the people of every country who wish to recover their liberty.

Some very important discoveries were expected from those papers. When Ruhl of Strasburgh, who was president of the committee, ascended the tribune to make the report, a most profound and awful silence took place; it was understood, that there were a number of letters to the king, and his ministers, among those papers. Every member of the convention must therefore have been in a state of anxiety, either on his own account or on account of some of his friends: an imprudent expression in a letter to a minister might, in the present state of men's minds, expose the writer to great danger. The papers however proved to be of very little importance. Barrere, who at present is president of the convention, is mentioned in some of these papers; so are Dumourier, Claviere, Kersaint, all as having had some connection or intercourse with the court, but not in a way that can be considered as criminal.—But, although no suspicion of treason could be inferred from them, one particular letter does afford one of the strongest proofs of self-sufficiency and presumption that has been recorded in history or fable since the days of Phaeton. It is from Rouyer, a member of the convention, who had also been of the former assembly.

The man had frequently drawn my attention before: he is remarkably noisy and bustling, but as his importance seemed to be founded on his own single opinion, and what he said, although pronounced with great force, had little weight, I had never inquired his name.

The letter is dated in March, and is addressed to the king himself.

The following are extracts from it.—

'Profondement occupé des maux qui dechirent ma patrie, j'ai dû compter aussi ses innombrables ressources; j'ai sondé ses blessures et calculé ses forces; j'ai tout comparé, tout aprofondi, tout prévu.' * He then declares,

* —Deeply concerned for the misfortunes of my country, I have also reflected on her innumerable resources; I have sounded her wounds and calculated her force; I have compared them, I have fathomed them, I have foreseen every thing——

that he has a secret which will within two months restore the health of the empire, 'cicatriser ses plaies, dissiper ses alarmes, annihiler ses périls, rendre à la France le repos qui la fuit, la dignité qui lui convient, et au trône l'amour qui l'affermit, avec l'éclat qui le décore.'* He at last reveals his secret, which is, only that the king would place the whole power of the state in his hands; and he continues,—'Sire, je le rèpete encore à votre majesté, je m'engage à rétablir dans deux mois la paix au dedans, la considération au dehors, la félicité publique, et l'autorité royale————J'irai vous révéler ce que vos ministres vous cachent, ou vous apprendre ce qu'ils ignorent ————Pour moi, sire, je connois si bien nos forces et nos moyens, qu'en jetant les yeux sur les ennemis qui nous menacent, j'ai peine à me defendre d'un sentiment de pitié.—J'ai porté mes regards sur toutes les cours de l'Europe, et je suis bien sûr de les forcer à la paix.——Je jouirai, dans le silence, du fruit de mes conseils—Heureux du bonheur de tous, je dirigerai vers vous seul la reconnoissance publique.' †

This letter had, it is probable, been kept as a curiosity of its kind, and thrown into the chest with the other papers found there.

Barrere's name having been mentioned in one of them, namely, in a letter from M. de la Porte to the king, he

* That will heal her wounds, dissipate her alarms, annihilate her dangers, and restore to France the tranquillity which has fled from her, and the dignity which becomes her: and to the crown the public love which renders it secure, and the splendour which adorns it——

† Sire, I again repeat to your majesty, that I engage to re-establish, within the space of two months, peace within, importance from without, general felicity, and the royal authority——

I will reveal to you what your ministers conceal, and I will instruct you in what they are ignorant.——As for my own part, sire, I am so intimately acquainted with our force, that on contemplating the enemies who threaten us, I can scarcely suppress a sentiment of pity. I have thrown my eyes on all the courts of Europe, and I am certain of being able to force them into peace.——I shall enjoy in silence the fruit of my counsel.—Satisfied with the general prosperity, I shall direct the public gratitude to your majesty.

thought proper to demand leave to be heard before any other person; as the president of the national convention ought not to remain a moment under suspicion.—He desired Guadet to occupy his place as president, while he himself went to the tribune, to explain how he came to be mentioned in De la Porte's letter.

Before he began, Charlier suddenly stood up, and said, that the same delicacy which had prompted Barrere to quit his place as president, ought to have prevented Guadet from taking it.

Many voices exclaimed, that Guadet was not mentioned in any of the papers.

Charlier insisted, that although his name had not been read to the convention, yet he was positively included in the description given by the member who had made the report.

The way in which he attempted to make out this is singular enough,—'For,' continued Charlier, 'in one of the papers addressed to the king, it is said, that thirteen or fourteen of the most eloquent members of the convention were *dans les bonnes dispositions;* and although none of them are named, yet it is evident that Guadet must be one of them; for every body knows, that there are not thirteen members of the convention more eloquent than he.'

Ruhl, who was the organ of the committee in making the report, was so much offended at hearing this, that he declared with great heat, that if his expressions were to be twisted into accusations, he would resign his place as a member of the committee.

Charlier's construction was condemned; Ruhl was appeased; Gaudet was allowed to perform the function of president, until Barerre made his defence, which was easily done; after which he resumed his office.

Guadet then quitting the president's chair ascended the tribune, and, in reply to Charlier's insinuation, declared that he had never been connected with the court—'But if I had, and if I were conscious of guilt, I know how I

could obtain my pardon: I know,' continued he with animation, and looking to that part of the hall which the party of the Mountain occupied, 'I know under whose standard *those place themselves, who have need of forgiveness for the most horrid crimes.*' This apostrophe threw the Mountain into convulsions, in the midst of which I left the convention, and soon after we set out from Paris.

Lille, Dec. 7.

As it was late in the afternoon before we left Paris, we got no farther than the small town of Louvre that night, to which, a little after our arrival, a party of national guards brought about sixty prisoners. The guards sung the hymn of the Marseillois as they marched through the town; the prisoners had their hair entirely cut from their head; they were tied two and two together, the right arm of one being bound to the left of another. Those men had behaved ill at Jemmappe, and Dumourier had ordered them to be carried in this disgraceful manner to Paris, to be disposed of as the convention should ordain. The national guards of each town through which they passed, guarded them to the next. They were to be marched to St. Denis the following morning by a party from Louvre, and the national guards of St. Denis would the day after conduct them to Paris.

The punishment seems well imagined, and must make a strong impression on the troops on the whole route from Mons to Paris.

At Pont St. Maxence, a courier from the cabinet, with dispatches for Dumourier, overtook us; he travelled in a cabriolet adorned with the cap of liberty and other insignia of the republic. This man, understanding that our road and his was the same as far as Cambray, made a proposal to take one of the servants into his carriage on certain conditions, informing us at the same time, that it would be advantageous to have him with us, because he

being a messenger from the cabinet, the gates of all the towns through which we were to pass, would be opened to us at whatever hour of the night we might arrive.

We agreed to his proposal, and proceeded to Peronne, where we arrived an hour after it was dark: there we should have remained that night; but as the gates were to be opened at any hour for the courier, we were persuaded by him to go on; for he assured us, 'that we were within three posts of one of the best inns in France, which was protected by General Dumourier, and where he always lodged when he travelled on that road, for the landlord and landlady were the most hospitable and obliging people in the world.' The courier gave such an inviting description of this inn, that in spite of the excessive rain and darkness of the night we left Peronne, travelled three posts farther, and arrived at the gate of this famous inn about midnight. After a great deal of knocking, a servant looked out of a window, and having in a very angry tone said,—'*On ne loge pas ici*,' shut the window with a great deal more force than was requisite: this was rather disagreeable news to people who had been travelling since five in the morning, and flattering their imagination, during the last four hours, with the hopes of refreshment and rest.

Our courier was a good deal confused at this; but on farther inquiry, he was informed that the landlord and landlady were both ill of a malignant fever, which had proved fatal to one of the principal servants, and many other persons in the neighbourhood.

It is fortunate for men, when the best measure they could adopt is the only one which is left in their power. Our not passing the night at this inn, in spite of the malignant fever, did not depend entirely on our prudence. We were under the necessity of proceeding in the midst of the rain to Cambray; the courier renewing his assurances, that, as he was un courier du cabinet, the gates would be opened as soon as he should be announced.

At about two or three in the morning, we stopped at a most miserable hovel, immediately without the gates of Cambray. Had we been ever so much disposed to complain of hardship or fatigue, every expression of that kind would have been suppressed by the behaviour of a young dragoon, who jumped from behind our carriage as soon as it stopped. His arm was in a scarf: he informed us, 'that his thumb and two of his fingers had been shot off at the action near Menehould; that he had been at Paris to solicit a small pension, to prevent him from starving, because,' added he, holding up his wounded hand, 'avec cette b— de main, I can neither fire a musket, nor work: the secretary of the minister told me, that I could not obtain a pension without a recommendation from my colonel; I saw very well, qu'il se —— de moi,* for he knew that my colonel was with the army. I immediately determined to set out for it myself, being sure of getting a recommendation from the colonel, who is un brave garçon; and I should have been obliged to have made the whole journey on foot, had it not been for the politeness of Monsieur le Courrier, who invited me to go behind your chaise, where I have sat as happy as a king all the way from Peronne, for I always have been very fortunate.'

This poor fellow had a little dog in his arms, which he endeavoured to dry with the skirts of his coat. He was desired to come near a furnace with some embers in it, which stood in the middle of the room, and we lamented to see him quite drenched with rain. 'Ce n'est rien, Citoyen Anglais,' said he, 'j'y suis accoutumé—mais je crois bien que mon pauvre chien a froid—Viens, viens, mon ami,' continued he, caressing the dog, 'viens te chauffer.† My wife got this little dog when he was quite a puppy, and it will prove the most fortunate thing in the world; for I intend him as a present to my colonel, who is distractedly fond of dogs, and will in return give me a very

* That he made a jest of me.

† It is nothing to me, citizen—I am used to it; but I fear my poor dog may be cold.—Come, come hither, poor fellow, and warm yourself.

strong recommendation; but I have all my life been a very fortunate fellow—Viens, mon petit Azor, baise ton maître: Oh, il est impayable!' *

'You say you have two children,' said I. 'Yes, citizen,' replied he, 'and both by my wife.'

'I do not understand,' resumed I, 'how you could maintain a wife and two children on the pay of a dragoon.' 'Ce qui est impossible n'est pas aisé à comprendre, citoyen,' † answered he; 'but the truth is, it was my wife who maintained me and the children: she is a very industrious woman, and used to get three livres ten sols for making a shirt, when she made for people of quality; but at present, when there are no people of quality, she receives only forty sols for each shirt. Je ne me plains pas, parce que je suis bon patriote moi—mais il y a une grande difference entre 40 s. et trois livres dix. Malgré cela j'ai toujours eu du bonheur.'

'Eh votre main,' said the courier.

'Ma main—ma main,' answered the dragoon;—'ça pouvoit être mon bras: un de mes camarades à deux pas de moi a eu la cuisse emportée—est-ce que le Général Kellermann n'a pas eu aussi un cheval tué sous lui?—c'est une plus grande perte que mes f— doigts pour le général. Ainsi vous voyez, citoyen, combien j'ai toujours été heureux.' ‡

We were indebted to the high spirits and gaiety of this young fellow, for keeping us in tolerable good humour during two hours that we remained in this wretched

* Come, my little Azor—kiss your master. Oh, he is a treasure!

† What is absolutely impossible is not easily understood.

‡ I do not complain—because I am a good patriot—but there is a great difference between 40 sols and three livres ten. In spite of that, however, I have always been fortunate.

What say you to the wound in your hand?

My hand—why, I say, it might have been my whole arm: one of my comrades, within two steps of me, had his thigh carried off; and had not General Kellermann a horse killed under him? and that was a greater loss to the general than my shabby fingers.—So you perceive that I have always been fortunate.

place; the horses being all the time exposed to the rain, for there was no stable.

Our courier of the cabinet meanwhile was blustering and swearing at the sentinel on the rampart, who could not immediately find any body to send to the magistrates for an order to open the gates—for there was no regular garrison at this time in Cambray; and when the order was obtained, a good deal of time was lost before the man who kept the keys could be roused.

Three men armed with muskets, but without uniforms, came at last, and informed us, that the gates were open. The courier recommenced his blustering, and threatened the whole municipality of Cambray with the vengeance of Dumourier. He also expressed a fear that the general would blame him for the delay.

The dragoon, who was of the happy disposition to view every thing in the most favourable light, endeavoured to console him, saying,—'Non; Dumourier ne vous blamera pas: il est trop bon soldat pour ne pas savoir, que quand on ne peut pas prendre une ville d'assaut, il faut attendre qu'elle se rende.'*

On entering Cambray, the courier went directly to the town-house, and got a formal attestation of the time he had been detained at the gate, to shew to Dumourier, as an excuse for his delay—and immediately proceeded on his journey, accompanied by the dragoon.

As no gate was allowed to be opened except that at which they went out, we were detained two or three hours longer, till the usual time of throwing open all the gates.

We passed through Douay, and arrived the same evening at this town.

We have visited the quarter where the Austrians formed their intrenchments and batteries, from which the town was bombarded: a large village, near which the in-

* Dumourier will not blame you: he is too good a soldier not to know, that when a town cannot be taken by assault, it is necessary to wait till it surrenders.

trenchments were formed, was, before the main body of the Austrian army advanced, unexpectedly surrounded by their light troops; and, as we are told, the wretched inhabitants, with many more peasants driven there by the body of the army, were forced to work in the trenches, so that the fire from the ramparts destroyed a much greater number of the country people than of the soldiers.

The answer returned by the municipality to the summons of Prince Albert of Saxony was firm and laconic.

'Nous venons de renouveller notre serment, d'etre fideles à la nation, de maintenir la liberté et l'égalité, ou de mourir à notre poste. Nous ne sommes point des parjures.*

'Fait à la maison commune, le 29 Septembre 1792, l'an 1, de la république Françoise.

'Le conseil permanent de la commune de Lille.

(Signé) 'ANDRE, Maire.

'ROHART, Secretaire-Greffier.'

The bombs and red-hot bullets were particularly directed against that part of the town where the poorer inhabitants lived, with the double purpose of sparing the most valuable buildings in a city, which, as was expected, was soon to belong to the emperor, and also to excite the most numerous class of the inhabitants against the rich, and make them force the commander to deliver up the town. It had no such effect, however, and the enthusiasm of the inhabitants increased every hour. The courage and alacrity of the inhabitants in seizing and removing the hot bullets before they had time to kindle the wood was surprising. They had iron instruments contrived for that purpose; and the towns of Armentiers, Bethune, Arras, Dunkirk, Cassel, Cambray, and others, sent their engines for extinguishing fire to Lille, and volunteers from all those cities presented themselves in

* We have just renewed our oath of fidelity to the nation, that we are determined to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post.

We are resolved not to be perjured.

great numbers for the defence of the place; which obliged the Austrians to retreat from the town, after having beaten down by the bombardment three complete streets in the quarter of St. Sauveur, and many other houses in different parts of the town, which still remain in ruins. There are few houses into which some bullets have not entered, and they are kept as precious relics by the inhabitants.

In the hotel de Bourbon, twenty bullets entered during the siege; and the mark of the burning on the floor, occasioned by one of them in the room where I now write, is very evident: but no person was killed belonging to the family, except the chief waiter, as he was crossing the square to put a letter into the post-office.

A poor fellow who is decrotteur to the hotel, told me that it was owing to the watchful care and mercy of providence, that he happened to be out of the way when that letter was sent; for otherwise, as he usually carried the letters to the post-office, he *himself* might have been killed instead of the waiter,

I do not know whether it will be considered as a sign that a sense of religion is declining among the French, that the beggars in asking charity no longer add *pour l'amour de Dieu*, but instead of that, generally cry, *Vive la nation*; but that religious sentiments are becoming every day weaker on the minds of the common people of this country, is most apparent; but it never occurred to me, that one order of society was gaining in that article what another was losing. A friend of mine told me, however, that he was this forenoon in a bookseller's shop; that having observed the shelves of one side entirely filled with books of devotion, he had asked of the bookseller, if books of that kind were in much request at present.

'A good deal,' replied the bookseller, 'with the aristocrates: as for the patriots, they hardly ever look into them.'

'The reason of that,' resumed my friend, 'perhaps is,

that the patriots being the poorer, have not money to lay out on books.'

'They used to purchase them formerly,' said the bookseller; 'and it is only since the aristocrates became poor, that many of them began to purchase them at all.'

How far the bookseller's account of this matter is to be depended on I know not; but it is a lamentable truth, that a great proportion of mankind think very little of the next world, till the present becomes insupportable to them. And with regard to the inhabitants of this country, it must be acknowledged that the revolution has been hitherto so wretchedly managed, as to render the higher orders of society miserable, without making the lower happy.

Although my journal is continued until the 14th of December, when I returned to England, I omit the remainder, that I may insert what will be thought more interesting.

Some of the following particulars relative to the king's process, and the treatment which he and his family met with in the Temple, I learnt while I was in France; others I have been informed of since my return in England. I imagine the whole may be placed with propriety at this place, with an account of the king's death.

With whatever irregularity, precipitation, and injustice, the process against the king will be thought to have been carried on, it was with much difficulty and personal danger, to one party of the convention, that it was so long protracted. I have reason to believe that some of the convention regretted exceedingly the precipitate decree which abolished royalty, and were convinced that it would have equally tended to the happiness and lasting freedom of France, if the convention had restored the king

and re-established the constitution, with such alterations as might have been thought expedient.

I have reason to believe that there was a still greater number of the members who were of opinion, that after the republican form of government was decreed, the most equitable and most politic measure which the convention could adopt, was to declare that they would make no inquiry whether the king had been in correspondence with the enemy or not; because, at any rate, the nation was determined on a republican form of government, and, therefore, should order the whole royal family to be escorted to the frontiers, and permitted to go wherever they judged proper, with an annual pension of at least one hundred thousand louis, to be regularly paid as long as they should live in tranquillity, without exciting war against France, or a civil war in it for their restoration: revoking at the same time the decree against Savoy, and renewing their original declaration, against extending their dominions, and offensive war of any kind.

That part of the convention who were of either of those opinions, with all who were desirous of saving the king, finding it dangerous to avow their sentiments, endeavoured by various means to prevent a trial, until the public mind should be so much softened as to admit of a fair trial, or till the idea of trial should dissipate altogether. When this failed, they attempted to carry the sentence of confinement during the war, and exile after it: when that failed, they tried the appeal to the primary assemblies: and finally, they endeavoured to save him by voting to postpone the execution of the sentence.

Instead of those evasive measures, the nobler part would have been, no doubt, to have voted him not guilty at the first nominal appeal.

I do not know that this was the opinion of any of them; but I have heard several of them declare, that they thought the king's life fully protected by the constitution, and that he could not be justly condemned to

death, although all were proved which was laid to his charge, which in their opinion was not the case.

The violent party against the king, on the other hand, took great pains and used many arts, both within and without the assembly, to have all forms of process cut short by a bloody and sudden catastrophe.

Legendre proposed that all those who had published their opinions, or put them in writing, should lay them on the table of the assembly: and that after the intervention of one day, the convention should pronounce sentence without hearing the king.

Robespierre was for ending the whole in twenty-four hours without separating.

St. André declared that the king had been judged and condemned by the people on the 10th of August, and that the convention had nothing to do but to order his execution.

It was dreaded by some who wished the death of the monarch, that his appearance at the bar of the convention would soften the people, and perhaps move them in his favour; and when they found that others of their own party, who were equally the enemies of the king, were determined that he should be heard, they imagined means of the most profligate nature to prevent it.

Papers were cried through the streets to inflame the minds of the populace to such a degree, that they should insist on his immediate execution; and if that was delayed, to execute him themselves, either in prison or when he should be carried to the assembly. It was asserted that the country never could be happy while he lived; that all the misfortunes of the country, all the distress the people suffered, and the still greater with which they were threatened, proceeded from the king's being suffered to live; that a party in the convention, namely, the Gironde and the friends of Roland and Brissot, were bribed by the powers at war with France, to save the king, and prolong the distresses of France; and that although they durst not

openly in the convention deny that he was criminal, and deserved death, yet they were endeavouring, under various pretexts, to prolong his process, and delay his execution, till an opportunity occurred to re-establish him on the throne.

The most absurd assertions were made in the convention itself to this tendency. At one time, a little before I left Paris, when there was a discussion concerning the scarcity of grain, which by different members was imputed to different causes, I heard a voice pronounce, *La véritable cause est dans le Temple.* I was informed that this wise observation came from Legendre.

Hand-bills were distributed with these words.—' Republicains, guillotinez moi Louis XVI, et l'Autrichienne si vous voulez avoir du pain.' And the printed opinion of Marat was sold at the same time.

When the royal family were first lodged in the Temple, they were treated with some degree of respect, and were allowed the comfort of each other's company, and the liberty of walking in the garden of the Temple; but the appearance of respect gradually diminished, and at last the treatment they received was in many instances brutal.

A person who was admitted into the Temple by means of a near relation on duty there about the beginning of December, assured me, that at the hour at which, by a standing order from the council, the prisoners were to be confined to their apartments, he saw the keeper go to the king, who was still walking in the garden, and address him in these words.—' *Allons, Monsieur Veto, il faut monter.*'

When the royal family dined, a commissioner from the commune of Paris was always present. The queen happened at one time to raise the hand in which she held her knife a little suddenly towards her breast.—The commissioner seemed alarmed, and made a movement as if he dreaded that she had an intention against her life; which the queen observing, said with emphasis,—' Non, monsieur, je réserve cet honneur aux François.' *

* I reserve that honour to the convention.

From the time that the king's process was resolved upon, the royal family were confined more closely, and watched more strictly than ever. The council ordered that in future two commissioners should pass the night in his bedchamber, instead of one, which had been the case before. All persons who were admitted into the presence of any of the royal family were previously searched. Orders were given that the razors with which the king was in the use of shaving himself should be removed: this was done from a fear that he might prefer suicide to the humiliation of a public trial before the convention.

Such an idea was remote from the king's way of thinking. When his razors and his pen-knife were demanded from him,—'Do you think me such a coward as to kill myself?' said he.

The order not only comprehended knives and razors, but also scissars, and all instruments contondant, tranchant, et *piquant*, and it was extended to all the royal family.—'Il faudroit aussi nous enlever nos aiguilles,' said the queen when it was read to her.

When the king, afterwards, repeatedly applied for a razor, it was at last granted by the council, who directed, however, that he should shave himself under the inspection of the commissioners: and the queen and princess Elizabeth were allowed scissars to pare their nails with the same restriction. This last seems ridiculous, and the former absurd; for if the king had had any intention of using a razor in the manner they suspected, he could have put it in execution as effectually while the commissioners were present as at any other time.

After a long and warm debate, it was decreed by the convention, that the king should be brought to their bar; that the act of accusation should be read to him; that the president should put certain questions to him, which were previously drawn up by the committee, and approved of by the assembly: and that after his answers had been taken down, a day should be appointed for hearing him finally, and pronouncing judgment. It was also decreed

that the opinions of the deputies should be taken by the appel nominal.

This mode was violently insisted on by the faction of the Mountain, in the hopes that some, whose consciences acquitted him, might, from a terror of the mob, be induced to pronounce against him.

Had the opinion of the convention been taken in the usual way, it would have been less under the influence of fear; but the most certain method of getting the unbiassed judgment of the deputies, would have been by ballot: had that been adopted, there would probably have been a majority in favour of the king, even on the first general question of guilty or not; and there is no doubt but it would have been carried by a great majority against the pains of death, if the first question had been lost.

In the meantime the king knew nothing of its being decreed that he should appear at the bar of the convention. In an extract from the report of the commissioners that were on service at the Temple on that day, the following particulars are mentioned.—

The king rose as usual at seven; he spent only a few minutes in dressing, and about three quarters of an hour in prayer. At eight the drums were heard; he inquired of the commissioners what was the meaning of it, as he had not before heard them so early.

The commissioners pretended ignorance. 'Do you not think,' rejoined the king, 'that they beat the general?' The commissioners replied, they could not distinguish. The king walking musing through the room, and sometimes stood listening attentively. 'I think I hear the sound of horses' feet in the court,' said he. The commissioners gave no explanation.

The royal family breakfasted together that morning; they were full of alarm and disquietude at the noise, which increased every moment, and of which they plainly perceived the cause was carefully concealed from them.

Uncertainty in such circumstances agitates the mind more than a full assurance of the worst; the queen and

princesses went to their own apartments after breakfast, and left the prince royal with the king. The commissioners at last informed him, that he was about to receive a visit from the mayor of Paris.—'So much the better,' said the king. 'But I must inform you,' resumed the commissioner, 'that he cannot speak to you in the presence of your son.' The king then, after pressing the child to his breast, desired him to go and embrace his mother in his name. Clery, the valet who attended the king, withdrew with the prince.

The king asked the commissioner, 'if he knew what the mayor's business with him was,' and was answered in the negative. He walked about the room for some time, stopping at intervals to ask questions respecting the person and character of the mayor. The commissioner answered, 'that he was not particularly acquainted with him, but that he was of a good character, and, to the best of his recollection, of a middle age, thin, and rather tall. The king seated himself in a chair, and continued absorbed in meditation. Meanwhile the commissioner had moved behind the chair on which the king was seated. When he awaked from his reverie, not seeing any body, he turned suddenly round, and perceiving the commissioner close behind him, said with quickness, 'what do you want, sir?' 'Nothing,' replied the other: 'but fearing you were indisposed, I approached to know what ailed you.'*

Monsieur Chambon, the mayor, entered soon after, and informed the king, that he came to conduct him to the national convention: the king accompanied him without making any objection. When he came to the court, which was full of troops, horse as well as foot, he seemed surprised at seeing some of them in uniforms with which he was unacquainted.

Before he stepped into the mayor's coach, he threw up his eyes to the window of the apartment in which his

* These particulars, which some may think of a nature too trifling and minute, strongly paint the state of agitation and suspicion, in which the mind of the unhappy monarch was at this time.

family were confined, and the tears were observed to trickle down his cheeks.

The coach then proceeded to the convention, attended by the troops.

The commissioner ascended to the queen's apartment, and found the whole family overwhelmed with fear and sorrow. He acquainted them that the mayor had been with the king: the young prince had already informed them: 'we know that,' said the queen; 'but now—where have they carried the king now?' 'To the convention,' replied the commissioner. 'You would have saved us much uneasiness,' said the princess Elizabeth, 'if you had informed us of this sooner.'

What dreadful apprehensions must this princess have been under, to find any relief in hearing that her brother was carried before an assembly of men so prejudiced against him as she knew the convention to be?

The king was conducted to the convention by the Boulevards, la rue neuve des Capucines, la Place Vendôme, et la cour des Feuillans. All the streets which open to the Boulevards had guards stationed in them, with orders to prevent a multitude from assembling; and cannon were placed at the entrance of all those streets; patrols were ordered to prevent any kind of obstruction by groups, or carriages, along the whole of the way that the king was to be conducted. Strong guards were placed at different posts near the Tuilleries and hall of the assembly. It is said there were near 100,000 men in arms that day in Paris.

The glasses of the coach were down during the whole way, and there was no disturbance. Great numbers however were waiting in all the passages leading to the assembly, and the tribunes had been filled from six in the morning. It was remarked, that Marat was dressed in a new suit; and that his features announced satisfaction and good-humour, which was considered as still a greater rarity.

The act of accusation having been read, some of the de-

puties mentioned circumstances, which they thought of importance, that had been omitted. Drouet, the postmaster, who was the cause of the king's being stopped at Varennes, had been elected a deputy to the convention for that service. He thought this a good opportunity to distinguish himself as an orator.—' Lewis,' said he, ' is a *cheat* (fourbe), and wished to impose upon the nation, in saying that he intended to go to Montmedi, for the villain (scélérat) was expected at the Abbaye d'Orvalle; and the traitor knew that a detachment of hussars were waiting for him a few leagues from Varennes: *the monster* then had the intention, &c. &c. &c.'

This was more than his audience, prejudiced as it was against the king, could bear; the postmaster was obliged to stop in the middle of his abusive career, his voice being stifled by an universal murmur.*

It was announced by the president, that from the moment that Lewis should appear at the bar, no petition should be heard, no motion of any kind made, no sign of approbation or disapprobation given, but a profound silence maintained. When Lewis appears, exclaimed Legendre, ' *il faut qu'il regne ici le silence des tombeaux.*' This brutal insinuation had no better success than the eloquence of Drouet.

Marat, however, had the fairness to declare, that, in his opinion, the king ought not to be questioned about any thing previous to his acceptance of the constitution: this is so evident, that it is wonderful it was left to Marat to make the observation, and more so that it was disregarded when made.

Other proposals were made by other members, and some adopted: at about one o'clock the assembly were informed, that the king was in the Chambre des Conférences; on which Barrere, the president, having reminded the as-

* When Drouet was in the middle of his harangue, a gentleman asked one of the deputies, who he was.—' Monsieur,' replied the deputy, ' c'est un maître de poste, qui a voulu foire claquer son fouet bien mal-à-propos.'

sembly and audience of the silence they ought to maintain, desired that he might be conducted to the bar.

An awful silence prevailed; every eye was fixed on the door at which he entered. The king appeared with a serene air and undisturbed countenance. The spectators betrayed great emotion.

After a short interval, Barrere addressed him.—'Lewis, the French nation accuse you of having committed various crimes to re-establish tyranny on the ruins of liberty; the national convention has decreed that you shall be tried, and the members who compose it are to be your judges. You will hear the accusation read, after which you will answer to the questions which shall be proposed.'

To this the king made no reply.

The general act of accusation was then read, after which the president repeated the first article of accusation, and added, 'Lewis, what have you to answer?' On which the king gave his answer; and the president proceeded to read the second article, and demanded the king's answer in the same words; and so on, until the whole of the articles were finished.

During this examination, some new questions occurred to the committee, which were put in writing, and handed to the president, who put them in the same manner to the king, and received his answers.

The king's behaviour during the whole of his appearance in the convention was calm, recollected, and that of a man resigned to the necessity of circumstances, without the consciousness of guilt; his answers were sensible, pertinent, and prompt. He never lost his composure, except in one instance, when the president read the following strange accusation.—'You distributed money among the populace for the treacherous purpose of acquiring popularity, and enslaving the nation.'

The perversion of his very benevolence into a crime, astonished the unfortunate monarch, and deprived him for a moment of the power of utterance—he shed tears—but a consciousness of the purity of his intentions render-

ed them tears of comfort. 'I always took pleasure,' said he, 'in relieving those in want, but never had any treacherous purpose.'

Upon the whole, when it is considered that the questions were deliberately drawn up by a select committee, and afterwards corrected and enlarged by the whole convention, while the king's answers were given extempore, and without even a previous knowledge that he was to be examined in that manner, it places his understanding in a very advantageous point of view.

To keep the king ignorant to the last of any intention of examining him, and then hurry him unprepared to their bar, was ungenerous and shameful in the highest degree—it might have disconcerted him in such a manner as to have given scope to malice; his enemies would have imputed to conscious guilt that disorder in his answers and conduct, which surprise or indignation might naturally have produced:—and it is impossible not to suspect that the secrecy was employed for that very purpose. If so, all those enemies have been disappointed; the malignity by which they attempted to obscure his character, has only served to put it in a fairer light.

When the king had answered all the questions, the original papers on which part of the accusation was founded were laid on the table. Valazé taking them up one by one, and reading the title, said, as he presented each to the king, 'Louis Capet, la reconnoisses-vous?' If the king answered that he knew it, Valazé said, 'Louis la reconnoi;' and the president repeated, 'La piece est reconnue.' If the king disavowed it, they said, 'Louis ne la reconnoit pas—La piece n'est pas reconnue.'

The king disavowed many of them. When the whole had been investigated in this manner, the president addressing the king said,—'I have no other questions to propose—have you any thing more to add in your defence?' 'I desire to have a copy of the accusation,' replied the king, 'and of the papers on which is founded. I also desire to have a counsel of my own nomination.' Barrere

informed him, that his two first requests were already decreed, and that the determination respecting the other would be made known to him in due time.

After which the king withdrew, and was conducted back to the Temple in the same carriage, and with the same attendants that he had when he came to the assembly. The crowd in the streets was greater than in the morning; the continued cries of 'Vive la république!' accompanied the coach from the assembly-hall to the Temple, and the cry, 'A la guillotine!' was also heard more frequently than in the morning, but less so than was expected by those who had taken so much pains to irritate the populace against him.

In the coach the king asked Chaumet, the procureur syndic, 'if he thought the convention would allow him to have counsel.' This man, by the account which he afterwards gave of what passed, answered shortly, 'that his duty was to conduct him to and from the assembly, and not to answer questions.'

When he arrived at the Temple, and was in his apartment, he sent a message, desiring to speak to the mayor, who, being in his carriage and ready to drive away, immediately obeyed the summons, and ascended to the king's chamber. 'I hope,' said he to Chambon, 'that you will not delay to let me know, whether I am allowed counsel.' The mayor replied, 'that he might rely upon being informed as soon as possible: adding, that he was persuaded the convention were too just to refuse to him what the law allowed to all.'

Every member of the convention was not of the same way of thinking with the mayor: about thirty or forty deputies of the faction called the Mountain were against granting that request, and opposed it by the most indecent clamours; but finding their efforts vain, they next insisted that he should be allowed only one person for counsel. The great majority on the contrary were for allowing him three: the debate became so tumultuous, that

the president was obliged to put on his hat: * the Mountain was at last obliged to relinquish this shameful attempt; and it was decreed that the king should have counsel, without limiting the number, and that a message should instantly be sent to inform him of this. One of those who had opposed his having any counsel, proposed that two of the servants of the assembly (huissiers) should carry this message; but the convention ordered four of their members for that purpose.

After the mayor left the Temple, the king immediately examined the *constitution*, of which he had a copy, and said to the commissioner, who was now alone with him, 'Yes, I find that the law allows me counsel; but may I not also be allowed the satisfaction of having my family with with me?' The commissioner answered, 'that he did not know, but would go and consult the committee.' He went accordingly, and returned soon after; he informed the king that he could not see his family.—'That is hard,' said the king.—'But my son, they will not deny me the comfort of his company at least—he is a child, sir, of only seven years of age.'

'The committee have declared,' replied the commissioner, 'that you shall have no communication with your family—your son is of your family.'

The commissioner left the king, and went to the queen's apartment, where all the royal family were. The queen immediately asked, if they might not all wait on the king, who they knew was returned from the convention. The commissioner gave the same answer he had given to the king.—'At least,' said the queen, 'let him have the company of this child; pray allow his son to go to him.' The commissioner replied, 'that as the child could not be with both, it was best that the person who might be supposed to have the greatest courage should suffer the privation: besides,' he added, 'a child of that age has more need of the care of a mother than of a father.'

* This is a signal to order, never given but in cases of great confusion, and is generally obeyed.

The following day the four deputies informed the convention of their having been with the king, and that he had named Target and Tronchet as his counsel.

Tronchet accepted, declaring at the same time, that he was aware of the delicacy and danger of the office, which humanity to a *man*, over whose head the sword of justice hung, imposed on him—and for which, in all events, he would accept of no recompense.

Target wrote a letter to the president of the convention, excusing himself on account of his age and infirmities, and desiring that his letter might be sent to the king, that he might choose another.

This afforded some members of the assembly a fresh opportunity of displaying their disposition—they complained of the incidents which continually occurred to retard the final issue of the process. Osselin* said, that one counsel might refuse after another, to the loss of much precious time, and therefore proposed that the convention should name counsel for the king, whom he must either accept, or find others within twenty-four hours.

This revolted the greater part of the assembly; and when it was asked, how it could be imagined that the king could place confidence in those of their nomination, Tallien said with a rancour that well accorded with his character,—'Qu'ils s'arrange, qu'il trouve des conseils qui acceptent; c'est son affaire; la nôtre est de venger la majesté nationale.'†

Fermond and Rabaut de St. Etienne spoke against this savage precipitation: another proposed to adjourn: Thuriot, and Bentabole, the same who had accompanied Marat on his visit to Dumourier, opposed the adjournment. 'Do tyrants ever adjourn their vengeance against the people?' said Legendre, 'and yet you talk of adjourning the justice of the people against a tyrant.' This argu-

* This same Osselin was president of the criminal tribunal of the 17th of August.

† He must do the best he can; he must find those who will accept; that is his business; it is ours to avenge the majesty of the nation.

ment was well suited to the understandings and inclinations of the audience in the galleries, and met with their applause.

In the meantime, a deputation from the council of the commune of Paris came to communicate to the convention a decree which they had passed regarding the measures they thought necessary to follow in the present circumstances. By this decree, the king was to have no communication with his family:—his valet de chambre was to be locked up with him, and to have no intercourse with any body else:—his counsel were to be strictly examined (scrupuleusement examinés, fouillés jusqu'aux endroits les plus secrets). After having thrown off the clothes in which they entered, they were to be dressed in others provided for them in the Temple, and under the inspection of the commissioners who attended the king, and were not to be allowed to leave the Temple till after sentence was pronounced. It was also an article in this decree, that the counsel should take an oath never to mention any thing they heard while in the Temple.'

Decrees have sometimes been proposed, and measures have been adopted, by these men, of such a detestable and atrocious nature, that we are almost tempted to suspect that some individual among them is bribed to suggest and persuade them into measures which must render them and their cause for ever odious and detestable. What could the enemies of civil liberty wish more, than that those who call themselves her friends should act so as to shock common decency, and revolt all the feelings of humanity?

This abominable decree was with difficulty heard to the end; it excited the greatest marks of disgust; there was a cry from all parts of the assembly to annul the decree, and censure those who made it. Robespierre had the courage to face this storm; he declared that he was convinced that a very laudable spirit had dictated the decree,—'which,' added he, 'is perhaps too mild for the occasion.' This declaration produced violent murmurs,

and many voices were heard exclaiming—'*Hors de la tribune!*'

'I know,' resumed he, 'that there is a party in this assembly for saving the traitor; but I am surprised that those who shew so much tenderness and sympathy for an oppressor, have none for the good people whom he oppressed.'

This gained the galleries in an instant, and they resounded with applause.

Several members however put the inquisitorial and shameful decree of the commune in a just light: and conjured the assembly, in the name of decency, humanity, and justice, to annul it; which was carried.

The convention were afterwards informed, that several people had offered to be counsel for the king; all of whom he had refused except M. Malesherbes and M. Tronchet, who having been at the Temple and admitted into the king's presence, on the 14th, found that he had not then received any of the papers he had demanded.

Monsieur de Lamoignon-Malesherbes is a man of an amiable and respectable character; of distinguished sense, probity, and learning; of one of the chief families of what is called the Robe in France; he is grandson of the chancellor Lamoignon, who was an intimate friend of Boileau, Racine, and other men of genius in the reign of Lewis XIV.

The present Monsieur de Malesherbes distinguished himself towards the end of the reign of Lewis XV by some very eloquent and courageous remonstrances which he drew up when he was first president of the *Cour des Aides*, and for which he was exiled.

In the beginning of the reign of Lewis XVI he succeeded Monsieur de St. Florentin in the ministry; but afterwards, for reasons which are variously stated, he desired and obtained leave to retire.

This respectable man is seventy-two years of age: his generous offer to be counsel for the king gains him the applause of the public, and forms a contrast greatly in his

favour with the cautious conduct of M. Target, which has been condemned by all parties.—Even the fishwomen of Paris marked the difference, went in a body and hung garlands of flowers and laurel on the gate of Monsieur de Malesherbes, and afterwards proceeded to the house of Monsieur Target, in the intention to insult him in a manner peculiar to themselves. Fortunately for him, he was advertised of their intention, and made his escape.

It is much to be wished that all the members of the convention had been endowed with equal sentiments of justice with these poissardes. The discrimination displayed on this occasion is a proof that the lowest inhabitants of Paris are not devoid of sentiments of generosity; and that if they were acquainted with the real character of the king, the spirit of rancour which has been perfidiously raised against him would soon be turned against his persecutors.

It will not be improper here to insert an anecdote which does honour to the heart of this unfortunate prince. Two commissioners of very opposite dispositions were with the king when the shocking exhibition of the head of Madame de Lamballe was made under his windows, on the 3d of September. One of those men hearing the noise, and recognising the head, had the brutality to invite the king to come to the window, and he would see a very curious sight. The king was advancing towards the window, when the other ran and withheld him, saying, the sight was too shocking for him to support.

The person to whom the king afterwards related these circumstances, asked the names of the two commissioners. The king freely told him the name of the latter, but refused to mention that of the former—'because,' said he, 'it can do him no credit at any time; and might possibly at some future period bring him to trouble.' As the benevolence of the king's disposition appeared through the whole of his reign, his enemies have endeavoured to conceal and misrepresent every circumstance of this kind. But notwithstanding all the pains they have taken, so

many proofs of his candour, moderation, and integrity were known, that those who wished his death were in constant dread of a return of humanity and affection in the hearts of the people towards him; and therefore were at great pains to fill the tribunes with persons hired to make an outcry against him: and they were so apprehensive on this subject as to suspect those very agents of relenting.

When the king was indisposed in the month of November, and the physician Lemonier ordered to visit him, some symptoms of concern were manifested by the people, which alarmed the king's enemies greatly. It was reported and believed for one day, that he was dead; I myself heard it insinuated in a pretty large company that he was murdered; one person exclaimed with indignation—'Les scelerats l'ont empoisonné!' *

The king's appearance in the convention, the dignified resignation of his manner, the admirable promptitude and candour of his answers, made such an evident impression on some of the audience in the galleries, that a determined enemy of royalty, who had his eye upon them, declared that he was afraid of hearing the cry of Vive le Roi! issue from the tribunes; and added, that if the king had remained ten minutes longer in their sight, he was convinced it would have happened: for which reason he was vehemently against his being brought to the bar a second time.

The commissioners who do duty at the Temple were censured for drawing up their reports so as to excite compassion, and were required to avoid this for the future. The thing was impossible, unless they had been permitted to falsify; for a bare relation of the facts, in the coldest language, must have produced the effect they wished to prevent.

Terror has acted a principal part since the beginning of this revolution—terror first produced the emigrations, to which a great proportion of the miseries which France

* The villains have poisoned him.

has suffered are owing—terror produced that shameful passiveness in the inhabitants of Paris and Versailles during the massacres—terror prevented sympathy from appearing in the faces of many who felt it in their hearts for the unfortunate monarch, during this process, and terror at last pronounced the sentence of his death.

Besides the means already mentioned, of inflaming the populace by pamphlets and handbills, men were hired to mix with the groups, in the Palais Royal, and on the terrace of the Feuillans, to harangue on the necessity of condemning the king without farther form of process: and some of these men went the length of asserting, that if the convention did not, the people would take that business on themselves, and afterwards execute the same justice on all the deputies who should vote for saving him.

All those inhuman manœuvres did not prevent its being strongly stated by some members in the convention, that if the king's counsel were not allowed sufficient time to prepare his defence, the decree by which counsel was granted to him would be considered as an insult, and the trial a mockery.—It was also boldly asserted by one member, that 'if rancour and mean selfish views had not hardened the hearts of some present, so plain and obvious a piece of justice never would have afforded a moment's debate.'—'It has been said,' added another, 'that there are royalists in the convention. So there are; but they consist of those who push on the process with royal fury and precipitation—men who are not for trying but butchering Lewis XVI, and thereby gratifying all the princes at war with the republic, by raising a general indignation all over Europe, at the manifest cruelty and injustice of a republican assembly.'

These remonstrances seem to have had some effect; for it was decreed, that the king should be allowed till the 26th of December to prepare his defence.

It was also proposed, that during this interval the king should have a free intercourse with his family.—This was no sooner mentioned than it was assented to by the ex-

clamations of a great majority of the assembly. 'You may decree this as much as you please,' cried Tallien; 'but if the municipality do not choose it, he will be allowed to see none of them.'

Here this man's malice carried him farther than his accomplices approved; it was moved that he should be censured, and that the censure should be inserted in the verbal process: he attempted to avert this by a silly explanation, which proved ineffectual.

The assembly seemed pretty generally disposed to allow a free communication between the king and all his family, when Reubell asserted, that it would be highly improper to allow him any communication with the queen and the princess Elizabeth, who were involved in the accusation, as there was reason to believe they had sent their diamonds to their brothers, to help them to make war on the nation. On this despicable pretext the king was allowed to have intercourse with his children only, and they were ordered to be kept separate from their mother and aunt till the end of the process.

It had been observed, that very few of the real bourgeoisie of Paris could of late get access to the tribunes, the places being preoccupied by a set of hired vagabonds, generally the same every day: so that when the other departments complain of being under the controul of the single city of Paris, they do not state the grievance in its full magnitude. All the departments of France, including that of Paris, are, in reality, often obliged to submit to the clamorous tyranny of a set of hired ruffians in the tribunes, who usurp the name and functions of the peuple souverain, and, secretly directed by a few demagogues, govern this unhappy nation.

To remedy this, Manuel proposed, that a certain number of tickets of admission should be sent every day to the sections to be distributed among the real citizens.—As this plan would have prevented certain manœuvres of the Mountain, that faction opposed it with great violence; the people in the galleries thundered against it; some of

them called out, 'A l'Abbaye Manuel, à l'Abbaye l'aristocrate Manuel!' Legendre, the butcher, proposed, that it should be decreed, that Manuel had lost his senses.—This sally, the finesse of which will not be apparent to all the world, was thought exquisite by the people in the tribunes. When they had done with their applause, Manuel returned his thanks to Legendre, for not having moved that it should be decreed that he was an ox; because, if that had passed, Legendre might have thought he had a right to slaughter him.

Monsieur de Seze was added to Messrs. de Malesherbes and Tronchet, as a counsel for the king: the business they had to go through was too laborious for two persons only, and the time allowed still too short.

From the report of one of the commissioners we learn the following particulars, which, though minute, serve to illustrate the character of the king.—The commissioners, who were ordered on duty at the Temple, having, according to custom, drawn lots for their different posts, that of the king's apartment fell to a M. Cubieres, who, with another commissioner, was introduced at eleven at night, the king being then asleep. He rose as usual at seven, and took a book, which they afterwards found was a breviary;—breakfast was brought at nine, but the king refused to eat because it was the fast of Le Quatre Tems. He spent some time in prayer, and afterwards asked Cubieres about the health of the queen and his sister. He walked musing through the room; and then, raising his eyes to heaven, 'This day (said he) my daughter is fourteen years of age.' The unhappy prince repeated the same expression after a pause, during which the tears flowed from his eyes, and he was greatly agitated.

Monsieur de Malesherbes and the other two counsel came, and he passed most of that day and the next with them, and with four deputies from the convention, who came with papers relative to his trial.

One of the commissioners said to Malesherbes, in a con-

versation apart, that he was surprised to observe that he gave the Moniteur and other journals to Lewis, because he would by it become acquainted with many things very disagreeable, and particularly to what a degree the people were prejudiced against him. Mons. Malesherbes replied, that the king (for he persisted in calling him the king) was of a strong character, and beheld his misfortunes with magnanimity.

The commissioner hinted to M. de Malesherbes, that, by the free admission he had to the king, he might, if he were not an honest man, furnish him with poison.

'If I should,' replied M. de Malesherbes, 'the king is too sincere a Christian to make use of it.'

The resolution of the convention to try the king, and to be themselves his judges, astonished Europe, and was heard with sorrow and indignation by the unfortunate natives of France, whom the violence of the late measures, or the fears of assassination, had driven from their country.

Some of them, distinguished for their talents as well as for the offices they had held in their own country, were in England at this interesting period, and shewed a strong desire of doing every thing in their power, in justification of a prince of whose innocence they all seemed fully convinced.

M. Louis de Narbonne, who had been minister of war when the hostilities began between France and the emperor, and from that circumstance was enabled to throw great light on the subject, wrote to the president of the convention, offering to appear at the bar as one of the defenders of the king, provided a protection was sent to make it safe for him to pass and repass through France. The convention passed to the order of the day on this request, without even allowing the reasons which M. de Narbonne gave for its peculiar propriety to be read.

M. de Narbonne then drew up a declaration in justification of his sovereign, which he transmitted to Messrs.

Tronchet and Malesherbes: from the last he received the following letter.—

Paris, 31 *Decembre* 1792.

'J'ai reçu, monsieur, votre lettre et la déclaration de vos sentimens.

'Vous ne me mandez pas quel usage vous voulez que j'en fasse. Si c'est de la faire imprimer, ce ne peut pas être moi qui m'en charge, parce qu'étant le conseil de celui qui fut mon roi, je ne peux faire aucune démarche qui ne soit regardée comme faite par lui. Au reste, votre déclaration ne peut avoir aucune influence sur le jugement de la convention nationale, parce que à l'heure où je vous écris, on procéde au jugement.

'Il est possible que le jugement qu'on rendra, entraine une autre discussion en présence de la nation. Ce sera alors à vous de voir si vous croyez devoir faire paraître votre déclaration en faveur du plus malheureux et du plus vertueux des hommes.

'Quant à moi, si la cause se plaide devant la nation, je suis très déterminé à la soutenir aussi publiquement que je pourrai, quand même on prononcerait que je ne suis plus le défenseur légal de l'innocent.

'Dans ce cas-là, monsieur, je vous préviens que je me servirai de plusieurs articles de votre lettre sans prétendre me les approprier, parce qu'il ne me serait pas possible de rendre aussi bien que vous, plusieurs grandes vérités, qu'il sera important de metre sous les yeux de la nation.

Mais la plus grande partie de votre déclaration concerne de faits qui vous sont personnels, et que vous seul avex droit de certifier.

(Signé) 'MALESHERBES.*

'A Monsieur Louis de Narbonne, ancien Ministre de la Guerre de France, à Londres.'

* I have received your letter, and the declaration of your sentiments. You do not inform me what use you wish to be made of them. If you desire to have them printed, I am not the person who can take upon me to do it; because, being one of his counsel who was my king, whatever I do

M. de Narbonne wrote the following answer to M. Malesherbes.—

'En m'annonçant, monsieur, que vous avez reçu la déclaration que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous addresser, vous semblez désirer que je vous indique l'usage que je souhaite qui en soit faite. Permettez-moi de m'en rapporter sur cela à votre courageuse vertu, et soyez sûr que j'apprendrai avec reconnoissance tout ce qui sera fait par vous. Au moment du jugement de celui que je choisirois avec orgueil et avec transport pour mon roi, je fis proposer aux ministres François, actuellement en Angleterre, de se rendre sur le champ à Paris, pour nous ranger autour de notre malheureux monarque. Ils crurent voir dans cette démarche, des inconvéniens pour sa cause; ils en trouvèrent également à écrire une lettre signée de nous tous, pour demander un sauf-conduit qui nous mit à même de reclamer toute notre responsabilité. Je fus réduit à faire seul cette démarche, et ma lettre ne fut pas même lue par l'assemblée. Il ne m'est donc resté de moyen d'acquitter cette dette de ma conscience, que par la déclaration à laquelle vous daignez donner quelque éloge.

do will be considered as done by him. Beside, your declaration can have no influence on the decision of the national convention, because, at the very time I am writing, they are proceeding to judgment.

It is possible that the sentence they will pronounce may occasion another discussion in presence of the whole nation. You will then consider whether it will be proper for you to publish your declaration in favour of the most unfortunate and most virtuous of men. As for my part, if the cause shall be brought before the nation, I am resolved to support it as publicly as I can, even although they should decide that I am no longer the legal defender of the innocent.

In that case, I shall avail myself of several articles in your letter, without alteration, because it is not in my power to express so well as you have done, certain great truths, which it will be of importance to lay before the nation.

But the greatest part of your declaration consists of facts personal to yourself, and which you alone have the right to certify.

(Signed) MALESHERBES.

'Ah! c'est vous, monsieur, et vos respectables collegues, qui les méritez tous.

'Un de mes amis, Monsieur d'Arblay,* retiré avec moi à la campagne, a cru que la déposition qu'il vous a envoyée, pourroit être de quelque utilité dans une discussion; il se joint à moi pour vous exprimer les mêmes sentimens.

'J'ai l'honneur, &c. &c.

(Signé) 'L. DE NARBONNE.'†

M. de Narbonne afterwards received the letter which follows.—

Malesherbes, 29 *Janvier*, 1793.

'Votre lettre du 10 Janvier m'est arrivée, monsieur, à la campagne où je suis retiré depuis l'evenement.

'Vous savez sûrement que la déclaration de vos sentimens que vous m'avez envoyée manuscrite a été imprimée.

* This is the same gallant officer of whom mention is made, p. 104.

† In informing me that you have received the declaration which I had the honour to send to you, you seem to desire that I should acquaint you with the use I wish to be made of it. Allow me to leave it entirely to your intrepid virtue, and be persuaded that I shall gratefully approve of what you think most proper.

At the moment of the trial of him, whom with pride and transport I would choose for my king, I sent a proposal to the French ministers, who are at present in England, that we should immediately set out for Paris, and take our stand by the side of our unfortunate king.

They thought such a measure would be prejudicial to his cause, and thought it would be equally so, to write a letter signed by us all, demanding a safe conduct, which should enable us to challenge the responsibility of our respective offices at the bar of the convention. I was obliged to adopt this measure alone, but my letter was not so much as read in the assembly; and no other means remained for me by which I could satisfy my conscience, but the declaration on which you are pleased to bestow some commendation. It is to you and your respectable colleagues that every praise is due. M. d'Arblay, one of my friends, who lives with me in the country, thinks that the deposition which he sends may be of service; he joins me in expressing the same sentiments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Je ne sais pas sur quelle copie a été faite cette impression : je n'y ai eu aucune part. Le seul usage que j'ai fait de votre lettre, et de la déclaration qui y était jointe, a été de les lire à celui que cela intéressait. Il en fut touché, et même attendri : il me recommanda de ne les pas publier par la crainte de vous compromettre ; car il a eu, sur cela, les attentions les plus scrupuleuses jusqu'au dernier soupir. L'original fut remis par lui à un de mes collegues, qui desira de l'avoir pour le relire à tête reposée ; et il m'a assuré qu'il n'est pas sorti de ses mains.

' J'ai l'honneur, monsieur, de vous assurer de tout mon attachement.

(Signé) ' MALESHERBES.' *

Le Comte de Lally-Tolendal had as early as the 5th of November addressed a letter to the convention, requesting to be permitted to plead the cause of the king at their bar, on which they also passed to the order of the day; and hearing afterwards that M. Target had declined to assist Monsieur de Malesherbes in that honourable task, he repeated his request to the convention; but before this second application arrived, the associates of Monsieur de Malesherbes were already appointed.

Monsieur de Lally, however, while he had the expectation that his offer would be accepted, had prepared a

* Your letter of the 10th of January I received in the country, where I have been ever since the event.

You know undoubtedly that the declaration which you sent me in manuscript has been printed. I am ignorant from what copy this has been done; I had no hand in it. The only use I made of your letter, and of the declaration which came with it, was to read them to the person whom they most concerned. He was very much affected; he desired me not to publish them, lest it should bring you to trouble; for on that head he observed the most scrupulous attention until his last moment. The original was delivered by him to one of my colleagues, who wished to read it in more tranquillity. He assured me that it was never out of his possession.

I have the honour, &c.

very eloquent defence of the king, in the form of an address to the convention, which he published during the process.

M. Cazales, who had been a member of the constituent assembly, was at that time in London. This gentleman wrote a letter to Lewis XVI requesting, in case he should so far acknowledge the jurisdiction of the convention as to make a defence before their tribunal, that he would choose him for his advocate. M. Cazales urges some particular reasons for this request, that seem equally just and generous.

He addressed the president of the convention, that he might be allowed a safe conduct to enable him to perform the honourable task which he had solicited, and was in hopes of obtaining leave to execute: adding, that he did not make this request in the expectation of having his name effaced from the list of emigrants, for he gloried in participating their political opinions and their misfortunes.

M. Cazales inclosed both these letters in one to Petion, the mayor of Paris; begging him, after he had read them, to deliver the one to the king and the other to the president of the convention, and requesting an answer as soon as possible from Petion.

This proposal of M. Cazales was treated with the same neglect with the others. The convention passed to the order of the day when it was laid before them.

It will, no doubt, be thought extraordinary that the convention should have made the smallest difficulty in admitting any body as the defender of the king who was agreeable to him; but what is much more extraordinary, and must be considered as a piece of striking injustice, was, to intercept papers intended for his justification from reaching him, or those who were charged with his defence. Yet this injustice, striking as it seems, was certainly exercised towards this unfortunate prince.

M. Bertrand de Moleville, late minister of the marine, was obliged to conceal himself, and afterwards to fly to

England, in consequence of a decree of accusation issued on the 16th of August against all the late ministers.*

Being at London when the king's process began, and in possession of facts which he thought might be of use for his justification, he transmitted them with the proofs to the minister of justice, requiring that they might be delivered to the king.

Afterwards, under cover to the same minister, he addressed a packet of papers to M. de Malesherbes, inscribed *Pieces pour la Justification de Louis XVI*, and he wrote at the same time to M. de Malesherbes, informing him of the two parcels which had been sent.

Nothing can be conceived more sacred than this deposit in the hands of a minister of justice.

One of the abuses complained of in the ancient government was, that the papers sent to prisoners necessary for their defence, were sometimes intercepted, and not delivered to them in time; the constituent assembly therefore had decreed, that accused persons should freely receive all papers or memorials for their defence within the space of twenty-four hours.

M. de Bertrand must have been greatly surprised and shocked when he received the following letter from M. de Malesherbes.—

Paris, le 31 *Octobre* 1792.

'Le ministre de la justice a reçu un paquet de M. de Bertrand pour être remis à Louis XVI, et contenant des pieces pour sa justification.

'Le ministre n'ayant point de communication avec le prisonnier, a envoyé ce paquet à la convention nationale.

'Le même ministre a reçu une lettre depuis de même M. Bertrand, adressée à moi, et il y avoit sur l'adresse,

* This decree was instantly agreed to, on reading in the assembly the note mentioned in page 124. M. de Bertrand was not acquainted either with M. Barnave or M. Lameth; he knew nothing of the note, which besides was in itself of no importance. Yet it is evident, from what has since happened, that he has had a just notion of the disposition of those he had to deal with, and acted very wisely in taking refuge in England.

Pieces pour la Justification de Louis XVI. Ces mots ont fait penser au ministre qu'il étoit aussi obligé de renvoyer ce paquet devant la convention nationale. C'est ce que ce ministre m'a dit quand j'ai été le réclamer.

' J'ai su que ces deux paquets avoient été renvoyés par la convention à un comité; j'ai été à ce comité pour réclamer au nom de celui dont je suis le défenseur, le paquet qui est pour lui, et en mon nom celui qui est pour moi. J'ai vu que les paquets avoient été ouverts: il y avoit des pieces imprimées, et dans un des paquets, qui n'est pas le mien, des pieces manuscrites qu'on ne m'a pas laissé lire, et qu'on m'a dit être des actes.

' On m'a remis sans difficulté les imprimés que j'avois déjà: pour les manuscrits, on n'a pas voulu me les remettre sans avoir un ordre de la convention nationale.

' Quelqu'un du comité a été à la convention, les pieces à la main, pour demander l'ordre. Il est revenu, et m'a dit que sur sa demande on a passé à l'ordre du jour. Mais il n'a point rapporté les pieces, et m'a dit qu'il les avoit laissées sur le bureau. Il ne m'a pas parû qu'il ait fait constater, par aucun acte, que ces pieces qui étoient dans son depôt en étoient sorties.

' J'ai demandé à ces M. M. comment je pourrois me pourvoir pour avoir ces pieces. Tout le monde s'est regardé, et personne ne m'a rien répondu.

' Voila où nous en sommes. Je n'ai pas crû devoir insister sur cet objet auprès de la convention, pendant qu'elle est occupée à délibérer sur le jugement de Louis.

(Signé) ' MALESHERBES.' *

* The minister of justice received a packet from M. de Bertrand, to be delivered to Lewis XVI, containing papers for his justification.

The minister having no communication with the prisoner, sent the packet to the convention.

The same minister has since received a letter from M. de Bertrand addressed to me, with a parcel entitled *Papers for the Justification of Lewis XVI.* These words made the minister think that it was his duty to deliver this packet also to the convention. This is what the minister told me when I waited on him to demand the papers.

Being

The language of this letter is very guarded; the writer has not allowed the sentiments he must have felt at such conduct to appear; but a simple detail of the facts is sufficiently expressive.

M. de Bertrand, in a denunciation transmitted from London to the convention, did not think the same caution necessary; he appeals in terms of just indignation to the reflection of the convention on such a flagrant breach of their own decrees, and deviation from every rule of common equity.

The minister of justice informed the convention, on the 14th of January 1793, that he had received this denunciation of M. Bertrand; that he understood it was also published in the Courier de l'Europe, and the minute placed in the hands of the lord mayor of London

One member observed, that Bertrand having emigrated, was dead in law—that a dead person could not be supposed to write or speak. Another said, that if the convention should bestow attention on what appeared in

Being informed that those two packets had been transmitted by the convention to a committee, I attended that committee to demand in the name of him whose counsel I am, that which is for him, and in my own name the other which is addressed to me. I perceived that both packets had been opened. Some of the contents were in print; and in that packet which was not addressed to me, there were papers in manuscript, which I was not permitted to read, and which they told me were acts.

They gave me without difficulty the papers which were in print, and which I had already: as for the manuscripts, they did not choose to give me them without an order from the convention.

A member of the committee having gone to the convention with the papers to obtain the order, returned and informed me, that on this request they had passed to the order of the day; but he did not bring back the papers, telling me he had left them on the table of the convention. It does not appear that he has ascertained by any act that those papers which were in his possession were taken from him.

I requested of the members of the committee to inform me by what means I could recover those papers. They all looked at each other, but none of them made any answer.

This is the present state of things. I thought it would not be prudent to insist on this, while the convention were deliberating on the sentence to be pronounced on Lewis.

newspapers, they must neglect the business of their country: and the minister of justice declared, that he did not think it became him, as minister of the republic, to correspond with a man who was not only an emigrant, but under a decree of accusation: and Valazé, who was of the committee, said they were teased with the number of papers sent to them; and that as for the manuscripts which Bertrand mentions, he knew nothing of them, if they were not in a packet which the committee had not thought it worth while to break open.

On this candid and satisfactory state of the matter, the convention passed to the order of the day; by which means the king's counsel were precluded from the knowledge of certain facts, which M. de Bertrand thought material in the king's defence; which seems also to have been the opinion of those who so basely intercepted them.

The day preceding that on which the king was to appear with his counsel before the convention, Santerre informed them, that the king, as he believed, might be conducted in safety to and from the assembly, provided he returned while there was day-light; but if he was detained till it was dark, he could not answer for what might happen; so great was the fury of the people against him.

When those who express a fear that the populace will destroy the king, are the very persons who have been active in exciting the public against him—it may naturally be thought that the fear is affected, on purpose to prevent any attempt to rescue him, rather than to prevent his being destroyed.

The hypocrisy that has been displayed, and the artifices that have been used to impose upon the people, to inflame their minds against the king, and stifle every sentiment of humanity and remorse, are odious and wicked in the extreme.

When the deputies went on the morning of the 26th of December to the convention, all those who were suspected to favour the king were insulted by the crowds, who beset the passages into the assembly-hall, as Rolandists, Brisso-

tins, and royalists: most of the deputies were there by eight; and notwithstanding that a decree had passed the evening before to clear the galleries, and not to admit any until a certain hour that morning, the galleries were found full of people, who had remained there all night. It was pretended that the guards could not possibly put the decree in execution.

Manuel moved, that the galleries should be cleared of those who had shewn such contempt to the decree; and that another set of citizens should be admitted. This proposal met with loud murmurs and hooting, from those who were in possession of the tribunes, supported by all the faction of the Mountain, who exclaimed for the order of the day. Others supported the motion of Manuel. The president divided the assembly, whether they should maintain their own decree, or yield to those who openly despised it: it was carried to pass to the order of the day.

Here the influence of terror is evident.

Sometime previous to the king's arrival, one of the commissioners who had been on duty at the Temple presented a parcel of keys, which the king had given to Clery, his valet.

The commissioner observed, that one of these keys opened the iron chest lately found full of papers in the palace, and also opened other cabinets belonging to the king; and that of course he must be acquainted with the keys and papers contained in the iron chest.

We see men every day who are led into the commission of crimes by the influence of their passions, although they have the same idea of virtue and vice with those who live a more virtuous life; but the conduct of many actors in this revolution, particularly of late, tempts us to believe that they have different ideas of the plainest cases of right and wrong, from what have been generally entertained by mankind.

When the council of the municipality met on the 25th of December, to decide on the manner in which the king should be conducted to the convention, Chaumet, the

procureur syndic, said, that as the king could be considered in no other light than as a condemned criminal soon to be executed, it would be dishonourable for the magistrates of the people to accompany him to the convention; and that he ought therefore to be conducted by the military only.

This was declaring that the trial was a mere farce, and that it was already determined to put the king to death, whatever proofs might be brought of his innocence, and whatever might be urged in his defence. There is great reason to think that this was really the case; but it is most extraordinary that it should be mentioned as a thing quite reasonable and proper, and it is still more extraordinary that it was rejected by only a very small majority, who at last decreed, that the king should be accompanied by the mayor, the procureur syndic, and thirty municipal officers.

On the 26th of December, his majesty, with whom his counsel had been from an early hour, left the Temple a little before nine in the mayor's coach, and was conducted as formerly to the gate of the Capucins, rue St. Honoré, where the national guards formed a line, through which he walked to the Chambre des Conferences, where he again met his counsel.

General Berruyer, commander in chief of all the military of the department of Paris, with all the field officers then in the capital, who were not otherwise on duty, accompanied the king on horseback from the Temple to the assembly hall. Berruyer informed the president, that the king was arrived. The president desired he might be conducted to the bar: which was done in the following order.—Berruyer and Santerre walked first, the mayor of Paris and the procureur after them, and the king, with Messrs. Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Seze followed. The president said,—'Lewis, the convention has decreed, that you should be ultimately heard this day.'

His majesty answered,—'Monsieur de Seze, one of my counsel, will read my defence.'

M. de Seze then read the defence, which entirely refutes some of the charges, shows the constitutional objections to others, and with equal candour and ingenuity gives a favourable interpretation to all.

During the defence, M. de Seze was obliged to stop two or three times: at those intervals the king was observed to speak to one or other of his counsel, which he did with a smiling countenance.

When the defence was finished, he arose, and, holding a paper in his hand, pronounced in a calm manner, and with a firm voice, what follows.—'Citizens, you have heard my defence: I now speak to you perhaps for the last time, and declare that my counsel have asserted nothing to you but the truth; my conscience reproaches me with nothing; I never was afraid of having my conduct investigated; but I observed with great uneasiness, that I was accused of giving orders for shedding the blood of the people on the 10th of August. The proofs I have given through my whole life of a contrary disposition, I hoped would have saved me from such an imputation, which I now solemnly declare is entirely groundless.' The president ordered the keys to be shown to the king, and asked if he knew them. The king answered, 'that he remembered to have given a parcel of keys to Clery; but it was so long since he had made use of them, that he did not know whether these were the same.'

The president having asked,—'Whether he wished to say any thing farther,' and being answered in the negative, the king withdrew into the Chamber of Conferences. Observing that M. de Seze was greatly heated, he expressed anxiety about his health, and inquired whether he could not find means to change his linen.

On the way from the Temple to the assembly, some person in the carriage with the king made mention of some of the Roman historians, which gave him occasion to say, that he preferred Tacitus to Livy: he accused the latter of having composed speeches for the generals, which certainly had never been pronounced. On his return

from the assembly, he preserved the same serenity. The procureur had his hat on, which had not been the case when he was in the carriage with the king the first time he went to and from the convention. The king took notice of this piece of rudeness, by saying to him,—'You had forgot your hat the last time you attended me; but you have been more careful of your health on this occasion.'

Observing that the procureur bowed and waved his hand with a look of familiarity to some persons in the streets, the king said,—'I suppose these are citizens of your section?' The procureur answered,—'No, they do not belong to my section; but they were members of the general council of the 10th of August, *whom I always see with pleasure.*'

The mayor held his snuff-box in his hand: the secretary of the municipality looking at a portrait of M. Chambon's wife on the lid, made the usual observation, that the original was handsomer than the portrait.—The king also desired to see it; which having done, he said, that Mons. Chambon was happy in possessing a woman more beautiful than such a portrait.

The king arrived at the Temple in safety, though the cries of the rabble were more noisy and frequent than on the former day

He had no sooner withdrawn from the assembly, than Manuel proposed that the king's defence should be printed, and sent to the eighty-four departments, and that all discussion concerning it should be adjourned for three days.

The mention of adjournment excited the most noisy murmurs from some of the members, and all the people in the galleries. Duhem, deputy from the department of the North, distinguished himself on this occasion.—He cried, that Lewis had been heard—that there was no pretext for farther delay—and insisted that the convention should instantly proceed, by the nominal appeal, to pronounce judgment.—The murmurs were converted into

applause. Lanjuinais began to speak:—'The time is passed,' said he, 'when bloody-minded men could force the assembly, by threats, to pronounce degrading decrees; do they expect that we shall dishonour ourselves by pronouncing judgment, without having had time to weigh the defence of the accused?' He was interrupted by clamours. Some called out to send him to the Abbaye, on the pretence of his having insinuated a reflection against the heroes of the 10th of August; it was with infinite difficulty that he was allowed to explain. After which, Legendre and others recommenced their outcries for pronouncing judgment before they should separate. 'Do you intend to act as a judge, or as a *butcher?*' said Kersaint?

This sarcasm was applauded by many of the deputies, but hooted by the tribunes.

Raffron, of the department of Paris, always a very zealous, and often a very clamorous member, attempted to speak; a deaf person would have thought, from the violence of his gestures, and his gaping, that he was bellowing very loud: the man was so hoarse with a cold, that he could not be heard, which increased the anger of his heart, and the contortions of his countenance, but entirely suppressed his voice.—He was advised, by those who were afraid that the violence of his efforts would throw him into convulsions, to put his opinion in writing—which he did; and it was read to the assembly by the president. The import of it was, that they ought directly to pass sentence on the king, of whose guilt, this temperate judge declared, no calm and candid man could have any doubt.

Raffron's opinion was loudly approved of by the galleries, but did not convince the majority of the deputies, some of whom ventured to express a desire of still more time to deliberate on the defence they had just heard.—The people exclaimed with horror at the idea. Some deputies moved, that they should be called to order, which rendered them more disorderly than ever. It was proposed to adjourn.—This made Duhem outrageous: he

rushed into the middle of the hall, followed by a number of the members of the faction of the Mountain, crying 'La Mort du Tyran!'—and seeming to appeal to the galleries—and even to threaten Fermond the president.

Had Lewis XVI really been the bloody tyrant these men affected to call him, still this behaviour in his judges, on his trial, would have been indecent and odious; but to shew such an unrelenting spirit, and such fury against a prince of so mild a character—one *who has borne his faculties so meek*—is not to be accounted for by any of the motives which usually influence men, whether virtuous or vicious. Some members of this national convention seem as deaf to the voice of expediency and self-interest as of humanity and justice. Instead of any rational principle, they appear to be urged on by brutal and furious instinct to the death of the king, like blood-hounds, who never quit the scent till they have drunk the blood of their prey.

During this disgraceful scene, Fermond calmly kept his seat, allowing the fury of those men to exhaust itself: at length, perceiving that Petion was inclined to speak, he invited him to ascend the tribune, conceiving, from the strength of his former popularity, that he had a better chance of being heard than any other member who did not belong to the faction of the Mountain: it was with great difficulty, however, that he was allowed to speak.—He endeavoured to convince them of the indecency of proceeding to judgment immediately, and before the members had time to deliberate on the defence which they had just heard.

When it appeared that the majority of the convention were not to be driven into the shameful measure of giving judgment directly, the point was given up; and it was decreed that every member had a right to pronounce his opinion on the whole cause from the tribune, before the day for the nominal appeal was fixed.

Whoever has attended to the conduct and spirit of the Jacobins may have remarked, that however popular any

person has been among them—however greatly he may have distinguished himself by promoting their measures with zeal and ability—if he chances to be seized with a qualm of conscience at last, and hesitates to act with them in a single instance, all his past merit is forgotten, and he is execrated by the society as a determined enemy.

The night after the king's defence was made, a member of the Jacobins gave an account in that society of what had passed at the convention—particularly that Manuel had proposed to adjourn the discussion for no less a period than three days; and that Petion had spoken against pronouncing judgment without separating. This was heard with horror and indignation: it was immediately decreed, that Manuel should be expelled from the society. Petion with difficulty escaped the same fate, which, however, was postponed only for a short time.

For several days after the defence, the time of the convention was mostly taken up in hearing the opinions of the members: all of them prefaced their discourses, by declaring a conviction of the king's guilt; perhaps they thought this necessary to secure them the liberty of proceeding. They differed however with respect to the penalty he had incurred; many being of opinion that justice and policy forbade the pains of death: all the Rolandists, Brissotins, and Girondists were of this number. Danton's and Robespierre's party argued for immediate death; and became so impatient at the delay, from hearing so many discourses, that they repealed the decree that had passed a few days before; and instead of hearing every member from the tribune, they resolved that the discourses should be printed, and laid on the table to be read by those who chose, and the 14th of January was appointed for pronouncing ultimately. It was not till the 15th, however, that the first appeal was made, owing to the long and warm discussions which took place in the convention before it was determined in what terms, and in what order the questions should be stated on which the convention was to decide; at last, it was decreed that the

following questions should be put to all the members, and decided by the nominal appeal.—

1. Is Lewis Capet, late king of France, guilty of a conspiracy against liberty, and of attempts against the general safety of the state? Yes, or No.

2. Shall the judgment to be pronounced on Lewis, be submitted to the ratification of the people in the primary assemblies? Yes, or No.

3. What punishment has he incurred?

These questions were artfully and wickedly arranged in this order, to render the king's condemnation more certain.

Several deputies who thought the appeal to the primary assemblies a wrong measure in itself, gave their votes against it, in the belief that the king would not be condemned to death—but had the question respecting the punishment been brought in the second place, they would have seen that the appeal to the people was the only means of saving the life of the king, and would then have voted for that measure, although in general they did not approve of it.

This accounts for the length and violence of the debates, on a question apparently of so little importance as the order in which the propositions were to be voted:—for some of those who wished to save the life of the king saw this in the light above stated, and strove to have the questions otherwise arranged:—neither party, however, avowed the real reason of their zeal, and the malice of the king's enemies prevailed.

On the first question, the assembly voted almost unanimously in the affirmative.—But many of the deputies declared, that they gave this opinion as citizens and legislators, but not as judges; because they neither thought themselves qualified for that office, nor authorized by their constituents to assume it.

Morisson, of the department of Vendée, refused to vote: he said, 'he would give his reasons if the convention exacted it,' which was not done: a very few others declined

voting; among whom was Noel, of the department of Vosges, who said, 'that his son having been killed on the frontiers, fighting against the enemy, he considered the king as the primary cause of his son's death, and felt so much prejudice against him, that he was unqualified for being his judge.'

Osselin, who had been one of the judges belonging to the tribunal appointed in August, gave his vote in the affirmative, and at the same time stated, 'that one of the accusations against the king is, that he continued to pay his guards after they were reduced, although many of them had emigrated; that his counsel, conscious of the force of this accusation, had taken great pains to destroy it, and had asserted that the king had not paid the guards after the 1st of January 1792; but that he himself, as one of the administrators of the commune of Paris, had had business to transact with M. Laporte, and that Madame Laporte had made a deduction from the revenues of the civil list of 1,200,000 livres in the month of July 1792, for the payment of the guards, then well known to have emigrated.'

What stress ought to be laid on such evidence so given, I leave to lawyers to decide: but common justice might have dictated to a man, who thus volunteered himself as a *witness*, that he ought not to vote as a *judge*.

When the name of M. Egalité was called, it was imagined that he also would have declined voting; and when he pronounced '*Oui*,' a murmur of surprise and indignation was heard.

The second question was undoubtedly intended as a means of saving the life of the king, and would in all probability have had that effect, if it had not been brought forward until the sentence of death was carried.

The measure of referring the king's fate to the people themselves, which from its nature was highly popular, had been rendered the reverse by the unwearied exer-

tions of those who feared that, if carried, it would save his life.

In giving their votes on this second question in the affirmative, several of the deputies said, they were aware of the danger to which they exposed themselves; but being convinced that their constituents had elected them as legislators, and not as judges; and as it was repugnant to their consciences to unite the characters of jury and accusers, they would run every risk rather than do it.—One member said,—'As I give my vote for referring this matter to the primary assemblies of the people, I expect the worst, and I glory in being of the number of those who brave the danger.' Another, 'that in pronouncing the same vote, he devoted himself to the daggers of assassins.'

The speech that Manuel made on giving his vote was remarkable.—'I see here a legislative assembly, but not an assembly of judges; for judges do not murmur at the opinions of their brethren, though different from their own: they do not openly abuse and calumniate each other; they are cold as the law of which they are the organs. If the convention had been a tribunal of law, a near relation of the king, who has not been restrained either by a sense of shame or by his conscience, would not have been permitted to vote on this occasion.'

The president called Manuel to order, telling him to avoid personalities. Manuel then voted for the appeal. Raffron, Panis, Legendre, and Marat, who are all of the department of Paris, and seem of congenial dispositions, voted against it.

It was midnight before the appeal was ended:—there were 424 against, 283 for the reference; 10 refused to vote. The assembly adjourned till the 16th, and when it met, incidental business prevented the appel nominal from being begun till the evening. Many of the members particularized their reasons for voting as they did. The ceremony lasted through the whole night. The result was a majority for death. Three hundred and nine-

teen voted for imprisonment till the end of the war, and then banishment. Had all who voted for death with restriction, that the sentence should not be executed till the peace, or till the constitution was framed and accepted, been subtracted from the majority, it would have been diminished to a surplus of only five or six votes.

On this occasion, M. Egalité voted for death without restriction. A murmur of horror was heard. One deputy started from his seat, struck his hands together, and exclaimed, ' *Ah le scélérat !*' others repeated the same expression. The terms in which he delivered his vote are remarkable.—' Uniquement occupé de mon devoir, convaincu que tous ceux qui ont attenté ou attenteront par la suite à la souveraineté du peuple, meritent la mort, je vote pour la mort.' *

Previous to the scrutiny, and after every member had voted, the president informed the convention that he had received a letter from the Spanish minister, and one from the king's counsel. There was a cry from the Mountain for the order of the day. Garan-Coulon said, that the king's counsel should be heard, but the Spanish minister's letter should not be read. ' How!' exclaimed Danton, ' the Spanish court have not acknowledged our republic, and they attempt to influence our deliberations! If all the members were of my opinion, we should declare war against Spain for this interference alone.

* Influenced by no consideration but that of performing my duty, convinced that all who have conspired, or shall hereafter conspire against the sovereignty of the people, deserve death, I vote for death.

I have it from good authority, that an acquaintance of M. Egalité understanding that he was not to vote on the favourable side, advised him to declare, that on account of the ill-treatment which he imagined he had received from the king, there would be an impropriety in his voting—that this would be considered as a good reason for declining, and would preclude the indignation which must be the consequence of his voting against the king. Egalité promised either to follow this plan or to stay from the convention on the day of the appel nominal; but having the day before that took place been waited on by Robespierre, Marat, and others of that party, they urged reasons which made him act as he did.

Gensonnet proposed that the king's counsel should be heard after the result of the scrutiny was known, but that in the meantime the convention should refuse to hear the letter of the Spanish minister, and pass to the order of the day. It was unanimously agreed not to hear the letter, and Robespierre declaimed also against hearing the counsel. In this he failed.

Duchastel, deputy from the department of Deux-Sèvres, having been indisposed, had not been in the assembly when his name was called the preceding night. He now was supported into the hall, and as the scrutiny was not yet closed, demanded to give his vote. It was suspected that he came to give his vote on the merciful side; and those who had during the whole process thirsted for the king's blood, and were now doubtful how the sctutiny stood, opposed his voting. Valaze, one of the secretaries, declaring that the scrutiny was *not* closed, Duchastel gave his voice for banishment. A shameful attempt was next made, on a frivolous pretext, to erase his vote—this was not permitted. The president announced the issue of the scrutiny as above mentioned, and the king's counsel were admitted to the bar.

Deseze said, that the law and a decree of the convention having intrusted them with the defence of Lewis, they came with sorrowful hearts to perform their last duty to their client: he then read what follows from a paper signed by the king.—'I owe to my honour, I owe to my family, not to acknowledge the justice of a sentence that declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot reproach myself. I therefore appeal to the nation at large from the sentence of its representatives; and I empower my counsel by these presents, and expressly charge them on their fidelity, to make this appeal known to the national assembly, and to require that it shall be inserted into the minutes of their sittings.

(Signed) 'LOUIS.'

Each of the counsel made a short address to the con-

vention; Desèze conjured them in the name of humanity and justice, to revise, or leave to the ratification of the people, a sentence carried by a majority of only five votes, and against which three hundred and nineteen of the assembly had declared their opinions.

Tronchet represented that many of those who voted for death, had declared that they founded their opinion on the penal code—yet the penal code requires two-thirds of the voices to condemn an accused person. A decree of the convention, passed only that morning, had pronounced that the majority of a single voice was sufficient. On that decree being objected to, they had simply passed to the order of the day; but in a matter of such immense importance, the appel nominal was necessary: he therefore demanded the repeal of that decree.

M. de Malesherbes said, that he had formerly had occasion to reflect with great attention on the important question of how the votes ought to be taken in criminal cases; but that not being in the habit of speaking extempore, he begged in the most earnest and affecting manner, that he might be allowed till the next day to arrange the ideas which he wished to submit to their consideration.

Robespierre and others argued on the other side; and the convention rejected the appeal made in the name of the king, passed to the order of the day on the requisition of Malesherbes, and adjourned till next day the debate on the delay of the execution of the sentence, which was discussed at length accordingly.

Two remarkable incidents occurred during this debate, which shew what an excess of wanton barbarity and persevering rancour some men are capable of upon the most solemn and affecting occasions. Tallien, with diabolical irony, argued for the king's immediate execution, on what he called motives of humanity. 'He knows,' said the wretch, 'that he is condemned, and that a respite is demanded—to keep him in suspense is prolonging his agony. Let us, in tenderness for his sufferings, decree his immediate execution, and put him out of anguish.'

This shocked even Danton, who expressed disapprobation of it.

The other incident occurred when Thomas Paine, who had formerly given his opinion against the death of the king, ascended the tribune: as he was not in the habit of pronouncing French, one of the secretaries read his discourse translated from the original English. His reasoning against the execution of the sentence probably was thought very persuasive, since those who had heard the discourses of Buzot, Condorcet, and Brissot to the same purport without interruption, broke out into murmurs while Paine's opinion was reading; and Marat at length losing all patience, exclaimed that Paine was a Quaker, and insinuated, that his mind being contracted by the narrow principles of his religion, was incapable of the *liberality* requisite for condemning men to death. This shrewd argument not being thought convincing, the secretary continued to read,—'That the execution of the sentence, instead of an act of justice, would appear to all the world, and particularly to their allies the American States, an act of vengeance; and that if he were sufficiently master of the French language, he would, in the name of his brethren of America, present a petition at their bar against the execution of the sentence.'

Marat and his associates cried, that these could not possibly be the sentiments of Thomas Paine, and that the assembly were imposed on by a false translation.

On comparing it with the original, however, it was found just.

They proceeded to the fourth appel nominal, which was terminated at midnight on Saturday the 19th of January 1793.

The voters were restricted to pronounce a simple yes or no, without any reasoning; 310 voted for a respite of the sentence, 380 against it.

It may be thought, from the result of this question, that the reference to the primary assemblies would have been equally rejected, at whatever time that proposal had

been voted; but it should be remembered, that it was still less obnoxious to vote for referring the sentence entirely to the people, than to vote for a respite of a sentence actually pronounced.

The executive council were ordered to notify this to the king the day following, and that the execution was to take place within twenty-four hours of the notification. It was decreed at the same time, that he should be allowed free communication with his family, and to have any ecclesiastic he pleased to attend him.

The executive council, of which Garat the minister of justice was president, met on the morning of the 20th. He, with two other members of the council, and the secretary, set out for the Temple, where they arrived at two.

Being introduced into the king's apartment, Garat, who was greatly agitated, said with a faultering voice,—'Lewis, the executive council is ordered to notify to you the decree which the national convention passed last night.'

The secretary began to read the decree. In the preamble, the king is charged with having *conspired against the general safety of the nation*—He was shocked at the idea, and repeated the expression with emotion. The secretary, who had paused, resumed, and the king heard the rest, including the sentence, with calmness.

When the secretary had finished, the king took a paper from his pocket, the contents of which he informed them of, and desired the minister of justice to present it to the executive council.

Garat informed him, that the council could not decide on the subjects of his demands, but that he would immediately carry them to the convention, who had already agreed to some of them.

He went accordingly, and read to the assembly the paper which the king had given him.

It contained a request of a respite of three days, that he might prepare himself for appearing in the presence of God: and for that purpose, that he might be freely vi-

sited by a person, whose name he would mention to the commissioners.

That he might be freed from their inspection during the interval allowed him to live.

That he might have free communication with his family.

That the national convention would permit his family to withdraw from France to any other country they chose. Finally, he recommended to the generosity of the nation a number of old servants, many of whom had nothing to live on but the pensions he had allowed them.

When the minister of justice returned to the Temple, he informed the king, that the convention acquiesced in most of his demands; he gave a favourable interpretation to the general answer which had been given to that respecting the lot of his family, but added, that *the delay was refused.*

'Allons,' said the king, 'il faut se soumettre.'

There is something infinitely harsh and revolting to humanity in the refusal of this last request; which there is every reason to believe, from the character and conduct of the king, proceeded from the pious motive which he assigned—and not, as his enemies have suggested, from a weak desire of prolonging a wretched existence.

Should it be the fate of any of those men who rejected this request of the unfortunate monarch, ever to be in similar circumstances, as they will have more need of it than he had, I sincerely hope that they will be allowed more than three days to prepare themselves for eternity.

When the minister of justice had retired, the king gave to one of the commissioners a letter addressed to Mr. Edgeworth, who was the person he wished to attend him in his last moments.

Mr. Edgeworth's father was originally a Protestant clergyman of a good family in Ireland, who was converted to the Roman Catholic religion, and had established himself in France, where he bred his son as an ecclesiastic, in the faith which he himself preferred.—The son recommended

himself so much by his good conduct and excellent character, that he was chosen by the princess Elizabeth as her confessor; by which means he became known to, and highly esteemed by, the king; of which he gave the strongest proof, by sending for him on this awful occasion.

The king's letter was carried to Mr. Edgeworth by three soldiers, sent by the council of the commune. The contents of the letter were requesting his attendance; but if he found himself, from apprehension of the consequence, or any other cause, averse to come, entreating him to find another priest who had not the same reluctance.

Mr. Edgeworth informed the soldiers, that he would attend them directly to the Temple. His mother and sister were then at a small distance from Paris; he desired Madame d'Argoûge, a relation with whom he lived when in town, not to inform them of what had happened, because he saw that lady herself greatly alarmed, and feared that she might communicate her apprehensions to them.

Mr. Edgeworth was conducted first before the council in the Temple, and then to the king. On his being introduced, he instantly shewed such marks of respect and sensibility as affected the unfortunate prince so much, that he burst into tears, and was for some moments unable to speak: at length he said,—'Excuse me, Mr. Edgeworth, I have not been accustomed of late to the company of men like you.'

After passing some time with his confessor, the king thought he had acquired sufficient fortitude to bear an interview with his family. The queen, princess Elizabeth, with the prince and princess royal, were conducted to his apartment. They continued near three hours together.—No tragic poet has imagined a scene more affecting than what was realized at this interview.—The actors, so lately placed in the most brilliant situation that the world can give—hurled from the summit of human splendour to the depth of human misery. A sister, children, and a wife,

in a prison, taking their last leave of a brother, father, and husband, rendered more dear than ever by his past sufferings, their common calamity, and the dreadful fate awaiting him the following day.

The king, though affected at different times beyond the power of expression, retained his recollection to the last. When they were to separate, the princess Elizabeth mentioned their hopes of seeing him again in the morning. He allowed her to expect it. The queen could listen to no words of comfort. No consideration could prevent her from pouring forth her indignation in the most violent expressions against the enemies of her husband. In the bitterness of her soul she beat her breast and tore her hair; and her screams were heard at intervals, all that night of agony and horror.

After his family had withdrawn, the king remained for some time with his eyes fixed on the ground without speaking; then with a profound sigh he pronounced—'Ce moment étoit terrible.'

I have it from the best authority, that after his family were withdrawn, the misery of his own fate did not engross his mind so entirely as to exclude all solicitude for the fate of others; he inquired in a most affectionate manner of Mr. Edgeworth for several whom he considered as his friends, and particularly for the ecclesiastics, who had been persecuted with the greatest cruelty; and expressed satisfaction at hearing that many of them had escaped to England, where they were received with kindness and hospitality.

Mr. Edgeworth prevailed on him to go to bed for four hours.

He rose at five; and expressing an inclination to hear mass, Mr. Edgeworth informed the council who were sitting in the Temple of the king's request. Some difficulties were made, which Mr. Edgeworth removed, saying that the usual ornaments and all that was requisite for the ceremony could be procured from a neighbouring church.

Mr. Edgeworth shewing great solicitude that the king should be gratified, one of the commissioners said, he had heard of people who had been poisoned taking the sacrament.

To this horrid insinuation Mr. Edgeworth made no other reply, than by calmly reminding him that the committee were to procure the host.

What was necessary was provided. Mr. Edgeworth said mass, and administered the sacrament to the king; and then mentioned that his family expected to see him before he left the Temple. The king, fearing that he had not sufficient firmness for a second interview, wished to spare them the agony of such a scene, and therefore declined it.

At half an hour after eight, Santerre came and informed him that he had received orders to conduct him to the place of execution. After passing three minutes in private with his confessor, he came to the outer room where Santerre had remained, and addressing him, said,—'Marchons je suis prêt.' In descending to the court, he begged the commissioners to recommend certain persons who were in his service to the commune; after which, not imagining that Mr. Edgeworth intended to accompany him any farther, he was bidding him adieu. But the other said, his attendance was not over. 'What,' said the king, 'do you intend to adhere to me still?' 'Yes,' replied the confessor, 'to the last.'

The king walked through the court with a firm step, and entered the mayor's coach, followed by Mr. Edgeworth, a municipal officer, and two officers of the national guards.

The king recited the prayers for persons in the agonies of death during the conveyance from the Temple to the Place de la Révolution, formerly the place de Louis XV.

When the carriage stopped at the scaffold, the king said,—'Nous voici donc arrivés.' He pulled off his coat, unbuttoned the neck of his shirt, ascended the scaffold

with steadiness, and surveyed for a few moments the immense multitude; then approaching the edge, as there was a good deal of noise, he made a motion with his hand for silence, which instantly took place*—then speaking with a raised voice, he said,—' Français, je meurs innocent. Je pardonne à tous mes ennemis, et je souhaite que la France——'

Santerre, who was on horseback near the scaffold, made a signal for the drums to beat, and for the executioners to perform their office. The king's voice was drowned in the noise of the drums.

Three executioners then approached to seize him: at the sight of a cord, with which one of them attempted to tie his arms, the king for the first time shewed signs of indignation, and as if he was going to resist. Mr. Edgeworth put him in mind that the Saviour of mankind had allowed his arms to be tied: he no sooner pronounced this, than the king became passive as a lamb. The executioners laid hold of him, and placed him on the guillotine. The confessor then kneeling with his face near to that of the king, pronounced aloud,—' Enfant de Saint Louis, montez au ciel.'—The blow was given—Mr. Edgeworth's face was sprinkled with the king's blood. The executioner walked round the scaffold, holding up

* It has been said that the serenity which the king shewed at his death did not proceed wholly from the support he derived from religion, but was partly owing to the hope he entertained to the last, even when on the scaffold, that his life would be saved by the people, and that his confessor encouraged him in this hope.

Nothing can be more improbable than this story. Had the king entertained any such hope, it must still have been intermingled with fear; and such a state of mind, instead of calmness, was more likely to produce agitation.

The whole of his behaviour shews a manly and Christian resignation to a fate which he thought inevitable, and proves that his hopes were removed from earth to heaven.

The character of Mr. Edgeworth precludes him from the suspicion of having encouraged a hope which would have disturbed that turn of mind which it was his duty to promote and cherish in the king.

the head to be seen by the people. A few, who had probably been hired for the purpose, cried,—'Vive la Nation! Viva la Republique!'

Thus did the French nation, who had endured the cruelties of Lewis XI, the treachery of Charles IX, and the tyranny of Lewis XIV, condemn and execute for the pretended crimes of cruelty, treachery, and tyranny, the mildest, most just, and least tyrannical prince that ever sat on their throne.

Let us consider the conduct of the convention with regard to the king, and decide whether it can be reconciled to good sense, justice, or humanity.

When the deputies first met and formed a national convention, they knew that a most extraordinary event had happened; that the palace of their king had been attacked: that many citizens had been killed, and almost all his guards slaughtered; that the king himself with all his family had been thrown into prison, where they still remained; and that their duty, as the representatives of the nation, was to investigate the causes of this extraordinary event, and to punish the guilty.

The convention were informed by those *who had planned and directed* the attack on the palace,—'That the citizens had been wantonly fired on by the guards, in consequence of orders from the king; that the king was betraying the country to an invading army, with the leaders of which he was in correspondence; and that unless he had been attacked and imprisoned, the nation would have been enslaved.'

Having heard this accusation, it was natural to have imagined that the convention would, in the next place, have wished to know the king's account of these transactions, that they might be the better able to judge which account was the most probable, and the best supported by known and incontrovertible facts.

One fact they must have known, namely, that when the king had reason to believe that his palace was to be attacked, he sent for the mayor of Paris and other civil of-

ficers to be near his person, and to be witnesses of his conduct.

From this it was to be presumed, that the king wished to avoid force; and if he should be driven to the necessity of using it, that it should be under the direction of the civil magistrate.

The convention might have recollected, that although one of the many evils which are inherent in a *despotic* government, be, that there is no door to freedom but through insurrection; yet the moderate and equitable character of Lewis XVI had early inclined him to such alterations in the old system, as would gradually have united the prerogatives of limited monarchy with the rights of free men.

Such considerations, with a moderate share of candour and gratitude, one would imagine, would have made them suspend their belief in the full extent of the crimes imputed to the king; and at all events have prevented their giving a decision injurious to him, till he was heard, and till as many of their brother deputies as were expected had arrived. Instead of this, they thought proper, on the very first day of their meeting, when not above half of their number had arrived, without hearing the king, to pronounce the severest sentence against him which they had a right by the constitution to have done, even if all of which he was accused had been clearly proved.*

They next proceed with more deliberation to determine whether the king may not still be tried for his life.

The inviolability with which the constitution had invested the monarch, was, in the minds of many of the deputies, an insurmountable objection to this measure.

It might have been imagined, that if the terms in which this inviolability was expressed by the constitution had been obscure and somewhat dubious, still it would have been becoming in the legislators of a great nation

* Abolition of royalty.

to have explained them in the most favourable sense for their unfortunate monarch: there was no room, however, for their exercising their generosity in this manner; for the terms are as clear as language can make them.

This had no effect on a majority of the deputies, who declared, that they considered the inviolability as a mere chimera, which ought not to be regarded.

The reasoning by which they supported this proposition will appear extraordinary. 'The constitution,' say they, 'could only render the king inviolable while he was king, but it can have no such effect now that royalty is abolished; and therefore we may now with propriety try him as a private citizen.'

According to the military law and custom of some countries, an officer of the army may be condemned to lose his commission, and to serve in the ranks for certain crimes, for which a common soldier would be condemned to undergo a corporal punishment;—but nothing so unjust was ever thought of, as first to make the officer suffer the punishment appointed by the military code for his crime as an officer, and afterwards, on the pretence of his being a common soldier, to inflict a second punishment for the same crime.

Other deputies reason in this manner.—

The inviolability is very good in ordinary cases, but it is of no use in the present. The people are sovereign, independent of the constitution, and cannot be bound by any law made by the constitution.—Louis XVI n'étoit roi que par la constitution: la nation étoit souveraine sans constitution et sans roi.*

Thus that metaphysical monarch, le peuple souverain, is conjured up, on convenient occasions, to answer for every kind of injustice and cruelty:—he was at one time declared to be the author of the massacres of the prisoners, on purpose to screen the real murderers; and in this instance he is brought forward to annihilate the most solemn and sacred of all obligations.

* Rap. de Mailhe, 7 Nov. 1792.

The committee who formed the decree of accusation against the king, seem to have been very much perplexed, on account of the force and precision in which his inviolability is declared by the constitution. Mailhe, who presented it in their name to the convention, after repeating this embarrassing article, says, with some degree of passion, 'Cela veut-il dire que le roi, tant qu'il seroit assez adroit pour éluder les cas de la décheance, pourroit impunément s'abandonner aux passions les plus féroces, et seroit-il quitte pour la perte d'un sceptre que lui étoit odieux, parce qu'il n'étoit pas de fer?'

Without taking notice of the false and childish exaggerations which his question insinuates, Mailhe may be answered, that if the king had the address to elude all the cases to which the constitution has affixed the pain of forfeiture of the crown, he certainly ought not to forfeit it—and if Mailhe himself were on his trial for murder or robbery, and it clearly appeared, that the accusation was false, or, to use Mailhe's expression, that he had had the address to elude those crimes, I confess I should be for acquitting him; for whatever may be the opinion and practice in France, I adhere to the old notion, that a man, who has the address to be innocent, ought not to be punished as guilty.

Nothing can be more unworthy, than for the legislators of a nation to attempt to explain away the obvious meaning of a proposition so clearly expressed, as that relating to the king's inviolability is by the French constitution; and the arguments they have used are as sophistical as the attempt is unbecoming. For my own part, I do not think it extravagant to question, whether Lewis XVI would have accepted of the constitution, had the inviolability been explained to him *then*, in the manner in which it is *now* explained. I am convinced he would not, if he had thought that Danton, Robespierre, Legendre, and Marat were, in any presumable case, to be his judges.

But had all objections founded on the inviolability of the king's person been removed; were it clear that he

might have been tried and dealt with as a private citizen, for crimes laid to his charge as a king; still the convention, as it was composed, could not, with any colour of impartiality, be considered as a proper tribunal for his trial; to have rendered it such, it would have been necessary to remove all those who had in print, or from the tribune, declared themselves convinced of his guilt, or in any way manifested a desire that he should be executed. What possibility is there, for example, that the king's innocence should be proved to Saint-Just, deputy for the department of l'Aisne, who, in the discourse he read to the convention, says, 'le procés doit être fait au roi, non point pour le crime de son administration, mais pour le crime d'avoir été roi: on ne peut point regner innocemment. Tout roi n'est qu'un rebelle et un usurpateur.' And Robespierre, in the society of Jacobins, where there were several who had been members of the legislative assembly, and were then of the convention, said, 'that if the king were absolved, *they* must of course be considered and punished as rebels.' Were such men impartial judges?

And if the objections to particular deputies were entirely removed, one solid one remains against the whole assembly, namely, that being the king's accusers, they were disqualified from being his jury or judges.

When we next come to consider the nature of the proofs in support of the accusation, and the manner in which they were obtained, the force of the objections against them is obvious and striking. The papers found in the king's cabinet on the 10th of August, and those afterwards discovered in the iron chest in the wall of the Tuilleries, are not fair and legal evidence—because papers may have been introduced and mixed with the others by the king's enemies; because papers may have been lost or removed which would have explained and accounted for what appears criminal in others; because a person's having criminal papers in his custody, is no proof that he approves of, or is even acquainted with their contents; and still less

of his intending to adopt the opinions, or follow the plans or counsels of the writers.

Let us farther suppose, that all the papers presented to the convention are the genuine papers found in the king's closet, without any having been added or subtracted; still they do not constitute a proof of his having formed any scheme of destroying the constitution, or betraying the country to its enemies.

Brissot in his writings, Louvet and Barbaroux in their speeches in the convention, assert, that they, and their associates, brought about the revolution of the 10th of August, with a view to establish a republic. They were so precise and minute on this important point, as even to particularize the place.—It was at Charenton, as they declared, that the measure of attacking the king in his palace was determined on; it was at first agreed to be on the 29th of July, but afterwards postponed to the 10th of August. Danton, Robespierre, and Chabot insist that this honour belongs to them. Petion, who had been sent for by the king, who was actually in the palace as a civil magistrate, and in the character of a mediator, early that morning, was afterwards very much hurt, because Robespierre insinuated that he had had very little share in the insurrection of the 10th of August. 'Les hommes,' says he, in his letter to Robespierre, 'qui se sont attribué la gloire de cette journée, sont les hommes à qui elle appartient le moins; elle est due aux braves fédérés, *et à leur directoire secret qui concertait depuis long temps le plan de l'insurrection.*' And in his letter to the Society of Jacobins he claims his own right to part of the glory: 'Je n'ai pas peu contribué,' says Petion, 'à amener la journée du 10 Août.' After this, how could any men of common sense, and common candour, hear with patience the king accused of being the aggressor on that occasion? Yet this was done in the act of accusation, and repeated by many of the members in their speeches during the process.

Finally, let it be supposed, that the person of the king was not rendered inviolable by the constitution; that the

convention was the proper tribunal by which he ought to have been tried; that the papers were unexceptionable evidence; and that the proof against him was convincing: after all this has been admitted, still it is clear that it was most inexpedient and unwise in the national convention to decree his execution, because it would exasperate many of the princes of Europe; and if it pleased any, it would afford even them a pretext for making war with France; thus creating new enemies to their infant republic, and strengthening the hands of the old.

Because the great object of punishment is to prevent, and not to avenge crimes; and in a republic the same case could never again occur.

Because a living and dethroned king would have been less interesting to the public, and therefore less formidable to the present government of France, than a young prince, whose character calumny could not touch, and whose father had been beheaded.

A French lady, distinguished for wit, having remarked the ingenuity of a footman belonging to a man of high quality, who was as ugly and stupid as his servant was the reverse, said, 'Il faut avouer que la nature n'est pas aristocrate.'—If nature has been partial to democracy, it must be confessed, however, that the democrates of France have been most ungrateful to nature, by violating all her laws, and wounding all her feelings.

The records of mankind exhibit no example of crimes deliberately committed, attended with so many circumstances of wanton unrelenting cruelty, and so evidently pernicious to the cause of the perpetrators.

END OF VOL. III.

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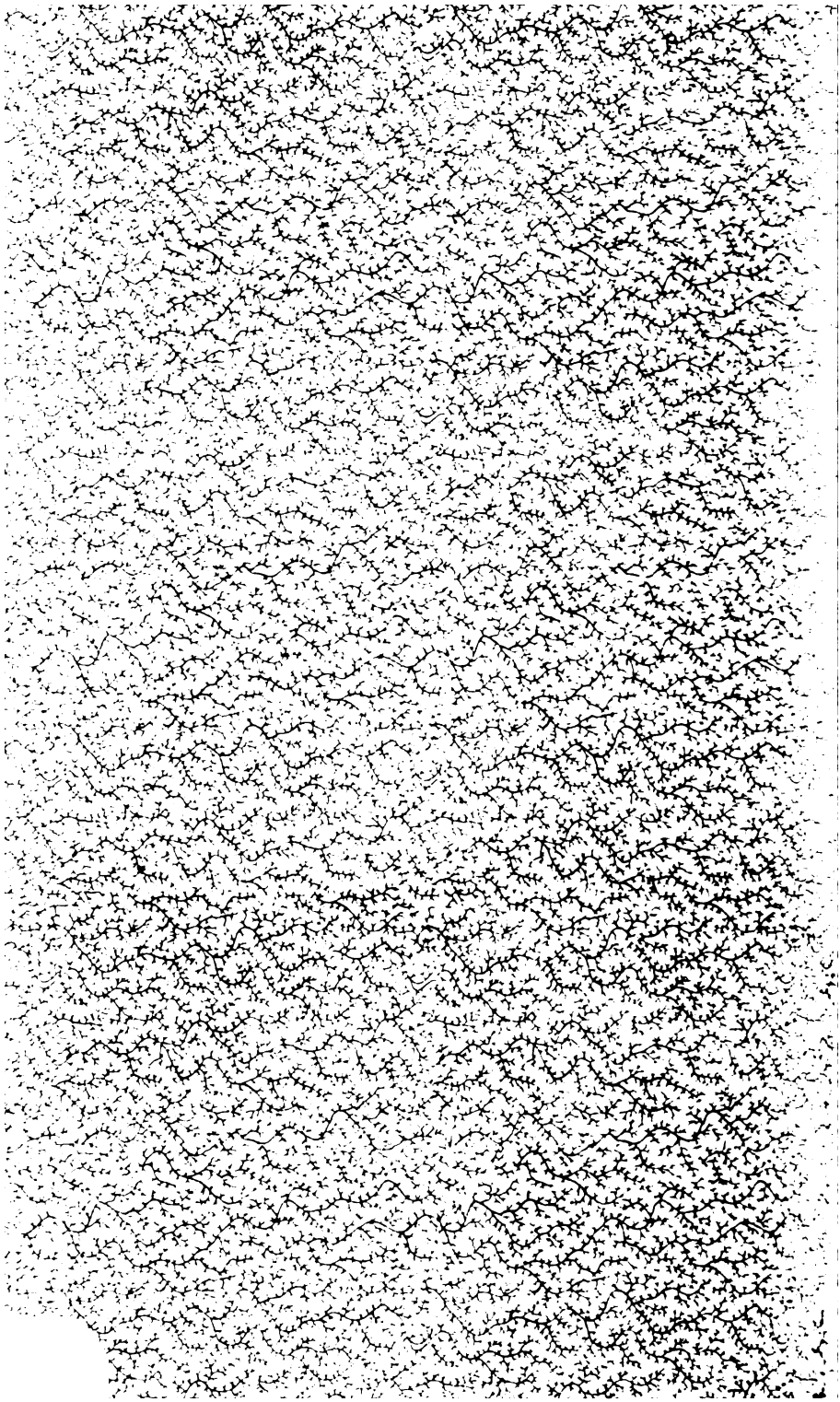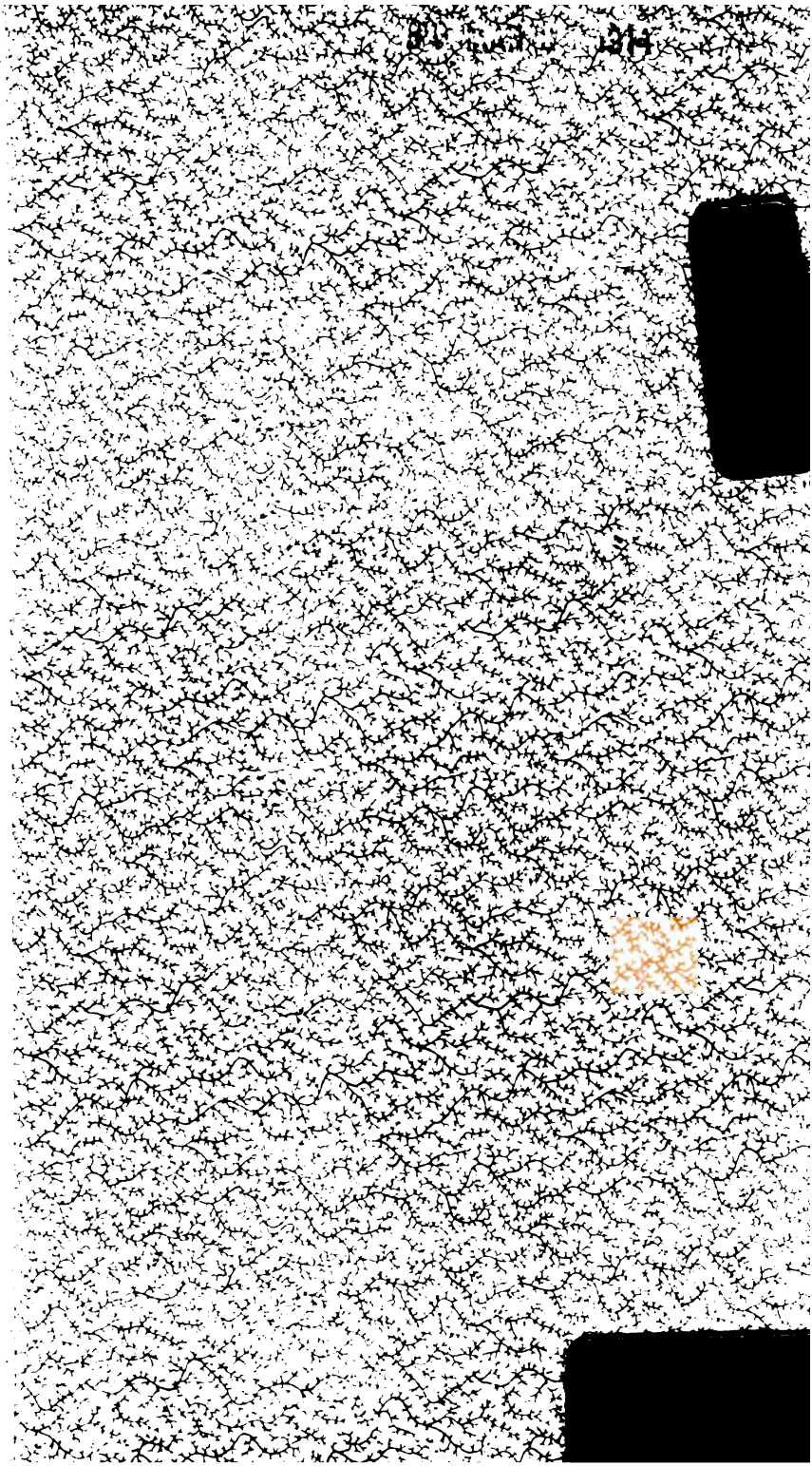
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